

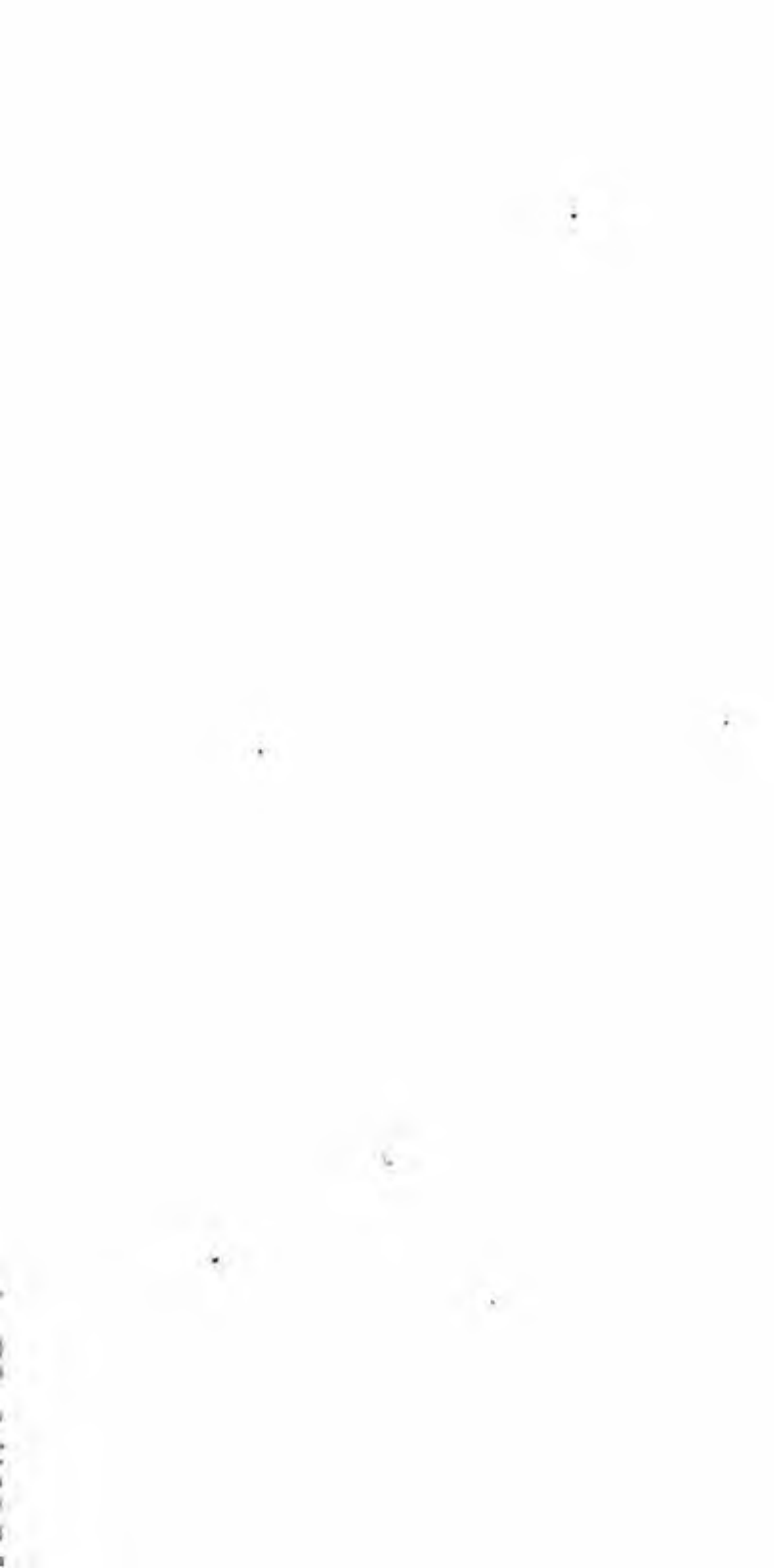
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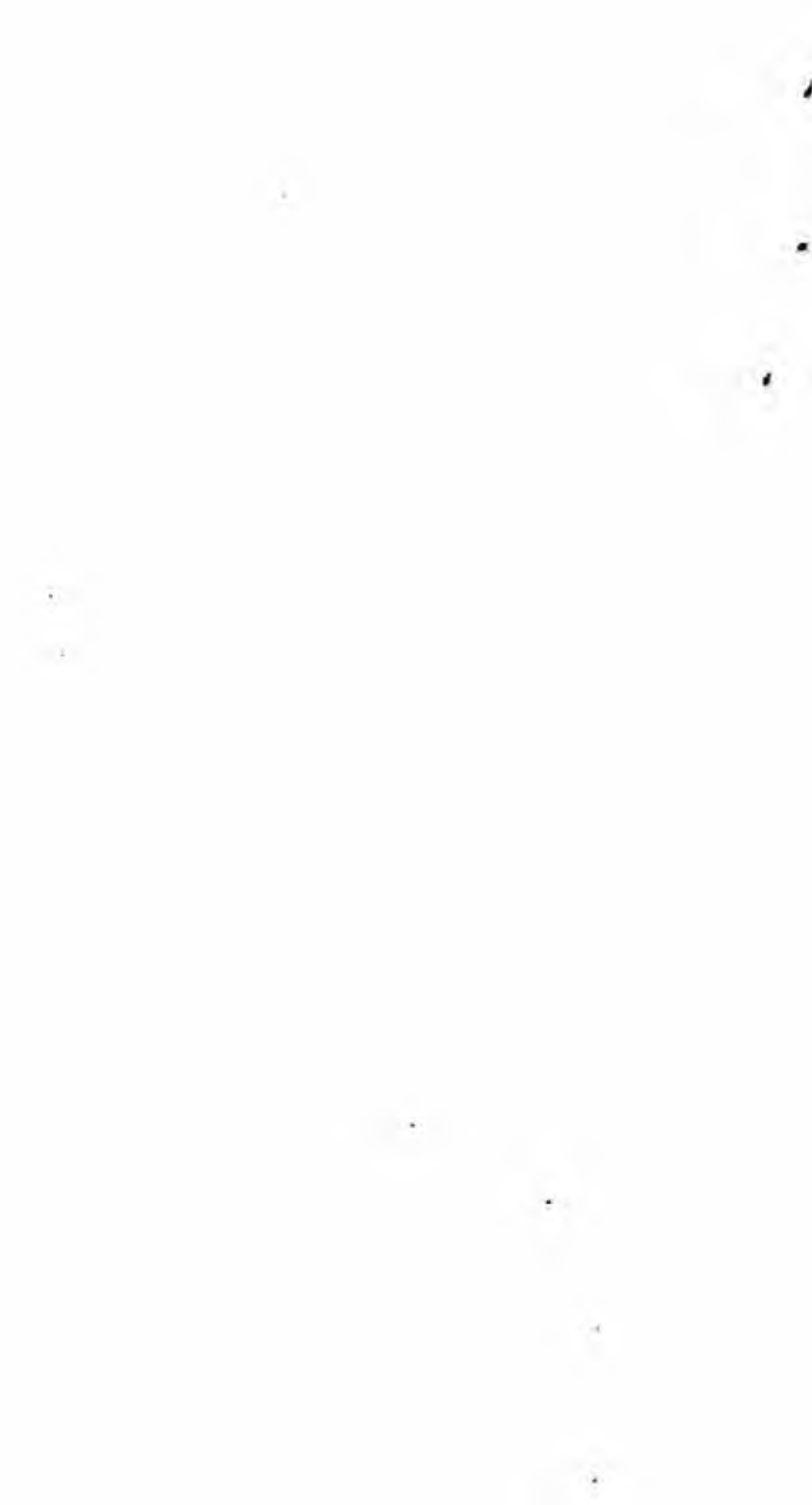
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THE
MAHĀMANDALĒŚVARAS
UNDER THE CĀLUKYAS OF
KALYĀNI

BY

DINKAR DESAI, M.A., LL.B.

Life-member, Servants of India Society

Gandhi Prize-man of the University of Mysore; St. Xavier's

Xavier Jubilee Silver Medallist of the St. Xavier's

College, Bombay

INDIAN HISTORICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, BOMBAY

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INTRODUCTION

An account of the Western Cālukyan Empire, nay, the history of ancient *Dakṣiṇāpāṭha* cannot be complete without a detailed notice of the great feudatory kingdoms. These kingdoms were ruled by the important *Māhamanḍalēśvarian* families who were the hereditary governors of provinces. Though subordinate to the Imperial dynasty, they exercised the supreme sway over the districts and possessed certain rights which fell but little short of complete independence.

The history of these *Mahāmanḍalēśvars*, though it presents an important and interesting chapter in the annals of South India, is a subject most neglected by historians. Dr. Fleet is the only pioneer who stressed the importance of the study of these great families. He sketched the history of some of them in the light of the epigraphs that had been discovered some forty years ago, and showed the way for further research. It is, however, important to remember that Dr. Fleet finishes the whole narrative within only one Chapter of his *Kanarese Dynasties*. Moreover, as he had confined himself to the Bombay Karnataka, he left out of consideration the *Mahāmanḍalēśvaras* of Southern Kārṇāṭaka thus leaving the sketch incomplete. Within the last few decades many inscriptions bearing on this subject have been brought to light: still no comprehensive work dealing with it has been attempted by anybody. A careful detailed study of these dynasties is quite necessary for a complete understanding of the history of the great Cālukyan Empire.

It has been my endeavour to present a continuous and comprehensive narrative of the principal *Mahāmanḍalēśvaras* and to give a picture of the people and their times. In doing so, I have availed myself of all the inscriptions, so far published, pertaining to the subject. In the course of the investigation on the Internal History I felt more and more the need for a study of the valuable literary treasures of Old Kannada. Hence I devoted some of my time to Halegannada Literature. I have also derived much useful information from the two Sanskrit sources, the *Vikramāṅka*-

devacharita and the *Manasollāsa*. As the English translations of the inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Carnatica* are not complete, it fell on my way to examine them in original Kannada. In other cases also, I always preferred to go to the original in order to avoid the mistakes which the translators sometimes commit.

As I have confined myself to the linguistic province of Karnatakā, I have left out of consideration the *Silahara Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras*, who ruled over parts of Maharashtra and the Konkan, as being outside the scope of my undertaking. The reader will not also find an account of the Hangal and the Goa Kadamba feudatory dynasties in this thesis; because the history of these Kadamba Houses has been ably written only recently, by Professor Moraes in his famous *Kadamba Kula*. The Professor, having been appointed the Springer Research Scholar by the University of Bombay, has undertaken to write the history of the *Sāntāra Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras*. As this book is already under preparation, I thought it expedient not to include the *Sāntāras* in the body of my thesis, with a view to avoid unnecessary duplication of work.

It is quite likely that new historical material might have come to light after I wrote the book in 1933. As I had not gone through such material, I had no occasion to revise the manuscript.

I have to thank my friend Prof. G. S. Dixit of the Fergusson College, Poona for reading the proofs of a part of the book.

I take this opportunity to express my deep debt of gratitude to my *Vidyaguru* the Rev. Father H. Herns, S. J. under whose guidance I prepared this thesis. My grateful thanks are also due to Professor Kundangar of Kolhapur for kindly deciphering some Gutta inscriptions and sending transcriptions of two lithic records which he himself recently discovered.

DINKAR DESAI.

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CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN OF THE SINDAS.

Regarding the origin of the Sindas, not much light has been thrown upon it till now even by eminent scholars like Dr. Fleet or Mr. Rice. But Mr. C. V. Vaidya in his *Downfall of Hindu India* has advanced his own views on the subject. He remarks: "The part of the country ruled by these Sindas is collectively called Sindēvāḍi Nāḍ in inscriptions. This clearly shows that these Sindas were Marathas, though they ruled over a Kanarese speaking territory. (As stated in Vol. II, however, the distinction between Marathas and Karnāṭakas is illusory and not of race but language)". From this extract, it is apparent that Mr. Vaidya believes that the Sindas were Marathas and that their mother-tongue was Marāṭhi.

To examine his statement, it cannot be clear to any sensible reader that the Sindas were Marāṭhas only because they ruled over "Sindēvāḍi Nāḍ", which even according to Mr. Vaidya extended over parts of Karnāṭaka. In the first place, the country of the Sindas is never called "Sindēvāḍi Nāḍ" as Mr. Vaidya puts it. It is always mentioned as Sindavāḍi Nāḍ, and not as "Sindēvāḍi Nāḍ". This would undoubtedly suggest that Mr. Vaidya was not careful in reading the inscriptions. It may, however, be maintained by some that the change which Mr. Vaidya made is so slight that it would not make much difference, so far as the historical aspect of the question is concerned. But in our opinion the change, though very slight indeed in the eyes of superficial observers, is of such a nature that it may mislead even great scholars regarding the origin of the Sindas. And in fact it seems to have misled Mr. Vaidya

himself when he thinks that the mother-tongue of the Sindas was Marāṭhi because they called their country "Sindāvāḍi" (the Marāṭhi equivalent of Sindavāḍi), a name which would bear beautiful analogy with such modern Marāṭhi names as Āmbēvāḍi and Kāṇḍēvāḍi. Sindavāḍi Nāḍ, on the other hand, is a purely Kannaḍa term, both the words 'vāḍi' and 'nāḍi' being common to all the Dravidian languages including Tamil.

As regards his view that the Sindas were a Maratha family speaking Marāṭhi, it seems to be untenable. It can be shown that the family belonged to the Dravidian stock and its mother-tongue was Kannaḍa. It is, however, necessary to know what Mr. Vaidya means by the term "Marāṭha." He remarks in one place that the Marāṭhas "were a blond of the Aryan with the Nāga-vamśa," a Dravidian race¹. But in a Marāṭhi article, which the learned author has recently contributed, he maintains that the Marāṭhas belong to the Aryan stock². It is thus apparent that Mr. Vaidya contradicts himself, which clearly shows that he has only hazy notions regarding the origin of the Marāṭhas themselves. We, therefore, dismiss his view as unworthy of further consideration.

A survey of the early history of the Karnāṭaka is necessary in order to decide whether the Sindas were Dravidians or Aryans. It must, however, be said at the very outset that the Sinda inscriptions claim that the family was originally sprung from the Nāga race³. The Bāgaḍage branch of the Sindas had the figure of a *nāga* or hooded-serpent on their banner⁴. It is now universally admitted that the Nāgas were a powerful Dravidian people

(1) Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, II, p. 325.

(2) Vaidya, *Maharashtra Desh Va Marathi Bhasha, Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal*, XIII, p. 3.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VII, HL, 50, 20, 98, 26; XI, Dg, 43; *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 230; IX, p. 316, etc.

(4) *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 230.

whose original home was in the south of India. They appear to be men of high capacity which quality enabled them to form into a ruling race from very early times. From the *Mahābhārata* (Ādiparva), we know that the Nāgas were the powerful hereditary enemies of the Pāṇḍavas. Nāga worship was extensively practised by the early inhabitants of Karmāṭaka. Even today we find numerous obelisks of the cobra set up in every village or town for public adoration. Ceremonial offerings are made to the living cobra in all parts of Dravidian India. As early as in the second century A. D., we have a Śātavāhana inscription at Banavāsi which tells us that the king's daughter named Nāgavati made a gift of a Nāga.¹ Among the early dynasties of Karmāṭaka, the Śēndrakas claimed to have belonged to the lineage of the Bhujagēndras or serpent-kings². The Ālupas or Ālukas also seem to have been a division of the Nāgas, as Āluka is an epithet of Śeṣa, the chief of the serpent race. The Sēnāvaras, who began their rule in the seventh century in the Kadūr District, had the serpent-flag (*phuṇi-dhvaja*) and the lion crest³. Kṛṣṇavarma I of the Kadamba Kula who ruled in the fifth century is said to have been of Nāga descent.⁴ Jinadatta, the founder of the Sāntāra line, is recorded to have married a Nāga virgin.⁵ Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar tells us that a class of Śātavāhana officers, who gave themselves Nāga names and symbols in their records, were associated with the western part of Mysore⁶. This was indeed during the days of the Śātavāhanas who ruled over

(1) Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 202.

(2) *Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 106.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VI, Cm, 95.

(4) Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, *Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 34.

(5) Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 202.

(6) Aiyangar, *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*, p. 139.

Dekkan from B. C. 73 to about A. D. 218¹. The old division Nāgarakhaṇḍa of the Banavāsi province was undoubtedly the hereditary territory of some ancient Nāga tribes of Karnātuka. The first component of the name Nāgarā, being Kannada genitive plural masculine, points distinctly to its denoting the territory of the Nāga people. In the face of these facts, it can be no longer maintained that the Nāgas were not the original inhabitants of the Kannada country.

The Sindas claim that they were of the *Phanirājavamśa*², which evidently shows that they formed a section of the Nāgas who in turn were an important element of the great Dravidian race. Native legend, which was busy with giving out a satisfactory but imaginary origin of the word "Sinda," naturally weaved some fanciful stories which later on found a prominent place in inscriptions. Thus for instance, the Dāvanagere inscription records:

"From the union of Śiva and Sindhu was born a son, to whom Bhava with affection gave the name Saindhava with the king of the serpents as his guardian. Saying that unless his son drank tigress' milk he would not become brave, the husband of Gauri of his goodness created a tigress, and drinking her milk the child grew in the world. Moreover, Parameśvara directed the goddess Māluti to aid his son in war and gave him a second name of Niṣudōla Sinda. Being told that Karuhāta the *Yāgapīṭha* was his abode, that king took possession of it, driving out the groups of kings thereby the might of his arm. Thus he became powerful among the kings of the earth, and being constantly praised in the world as brave, generous and of famous origin, he made illustrious the descent of the Sinda-vamśa throughout the world³." The Bhairanamaṇḍi epigraph gives a slightly different version of the mythical origin of the family.

(1) Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 36.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, VI, Hl., 20, 25, 50. 98; XI, Dg. 43;

Ep. Ind., III, p. 230; IX, p. 316.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 43.

It states that, from a desire to behold the earth so belauded by the sons of men, there came from the lower regions the serpent-king, Dharaṇendra; and to him there was born at Ahicchatra (literally snake-umbrella) in the region of the river Sindhu, a son Nidudōla Sinda. The serpent king gave him into the charge of the tigress and on his attaining manhood made him king of the country. Sinda then married a Kadamba princess, and by her had three sons from whom the Sinda family was descended¹.

In the first account we are told that Nidudōla Sinda, the founder of the family, was born from the union of Śiva and Sindhu and was guarded by the serpent-king, whereas the second account states that Nidudōla (long armed) was born to Dharaṇendra himself. At any rate, it is plain that Nidudōla was connected with the snake-king, a statement which would evidently suggest that the Sindas were a Nāga family. The marriage of Nidudōla with the Kadamba princess further indicates that the founder of the Sindas was the native of Kārnāṭaka which was then ruled by the famous Kadamba kings.

Besides the Sinda dynasty that flourished in the Kannaḍa country, there was a branch of the same family, holding its sway over Cakrakōṭa Maṇḍala in the Central Provinces². This dynasty claims to belong to the Chindaka or Chinda branch of Nāgavamśa³. The word Chinda is identical with the Kannaḍa word Sinda. Dr. Barnett is of opinion that the word Chinda is the same as Chanda, which is mentioned as one of the thirty-six *Agni-Kulas* in *Cānd-Bardai's Prithvirāj Rāso*⁴. He concludes by saying, that the Sindas were originally a family sprung from Nāga-tribe in the Central Provinces or thereabouts, whence some of them migrated to Kārnāṭaka.

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 235.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 314; IX, pp. 160, 174, 311; X, pp. 25, 31, 35, 37, 39, 40.

(3) *Ibid.*, IX, p. 181; X, p. 37.

(4) See *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 269.

But Dr. Barnett forgets that the Chindas of Cakrakōṭa come to our notice much later than the Sindas of the Kannaḍa country. The records of the Cakrakōṭa Nāgavamśi kings are dated from the eleventh century onwards, whereas the earliest reference to the Sinda country in the Karnāṭaka is in the fifth century under the name of the *Sinda-utthaya-Rāṣṭra*¹. And in 750 A. D., the *Sinda-viṣaya* itself is mentioned in an inscription found in the Kaḍūr District in the heart of Karnāṭaka². It is, therefore, quite possible that the Chindas of Cakrakōṭa were the descendants of some members of the Kannaḍa Sinda families, who had migrated to the Central Provinces from their original home Nāgarakhaṇḍa which lay in the centre of Karnāṭaka.

Even supposing that the Chanda family mentioned in the *Rāso* refers to the Sindas, there is no reason to disbelieve the *nāga* origin of the Sindas. The *Rāso*, as we all know, is a work of the twelfth century. Hence it cannot profess to give the true origin of the Sindas, who rose to prominence long before it was written. Moreover, if the Sindas were really of the *Agnikula* origin (which is based on legendary tales), they would not have left out the fact in their inscriptions, as they were great lovers of legendary origin.

When it is thus proved that the Sindas were the original Dravidian inhabitants of Karnāṭaka, it is natural to think that their mother-tongue was Kannaḍa, the Dravidian language of the province. If we assume with Mr. Vaidya that the Sindas spoke Marāṭhi, we cannot explain how they called the founder of their family by a pure Kannaḍa name Niḍudōḷa. Moreover, the names such as Ācuḡi, Permāḍi and Cāvunḍa, which were borne by the members of the Sinda family, are purely Kannaḍa in origin. The use of the Kannaḍa script and language in their records further indi-

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VI, Ed. 162.

(2) *Ibid.*, Mg. 26.

ates their Karnāṭaka origin. Not even a single member of the Sinda family is called by a Marāṭhi name; and not even a single inscription is recorded in Marāṭhi language. In the face of these facts which speak for themselves, it would be simply ridiculous and absurd to maintain that the Sindas were the ancestors of the modern Marāṭhas and that their mother-tongue was Marāṭhi.

CHAPTER II.

NANNIYA SINDA.

An inscription from Holalkere, dated in A. D. 967¹, mentions a certain Karasiga Nanniya Sinda, the earliest member of the Sinda race of whose time we have a record. Here he appears not as a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, but only as an official under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III (A.D. 940-967), who is called *Akālavarīṣa-deva* in this inscription. Long before Kṛṣṇa III ascended the throne, the Sindas by their war-like qualities were known in the Dekkan. They then seemed to have been in charge of that part of the country which extended over parts of the Bellary and Citaldroog Districts.

The fact that the Sindas had hereditary rights over this portion of Kuntala is evident from the name Sindavāḍi which they gave to their country. The Sindas must have fallen on evil days under the suzerainty of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. When Kṛṣṇa II (A. D. 880-911) conquered the whole of the North Western part of Karnāṭaka, he seemed to have deprived the Sindas of their country, and handed it over to his own officials. This inference is supported by a lithic record at Mancēla in the Bellary District, dated in A. D. 893, which says that Kṛṣṇa's officer *Mahāsāmanta* Matyē-namma was ruling the Sindavāḍi One-Thousand². From this time onwards, Sindavāḍi continued to be administered under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereignty through their own feudatories and governors. Thus in the reign of Govinda IV (A. D. 918-933), his *Mahāsāmanta* Kannara is mentioned as governing over the province of Sindavāḍi One-thousand³. Coming to the reign of Kṛṣṇa III, the contemporary of

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Hk., 23

(2) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1916, No. 512 (Appendix B.).

(3) *Ibid*

Nanniya Sinda, we find Sindavāḍi in the charge of Kannayya, the governor of Kaṭambaḷige.¹

Despite the eclipse the Sindus suffered during the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ascendancy, they still retained their hereditary qualities of a ruling race. They must have tried to assert themselves under the powerful foreign domination, and their efforts bore fruit in the long run. The later Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings deemed it wise to take the Sinda scions into their confidence by appointing them to responsible posts in the government. Nanniya Sinda was undoubtedly one of such officials who took service under Kṛṣṇa III.

But Nanniya Sinda, as we have already seen, was not occupying the place of a high official such as the governor of a province. The Hoḷalkere inscription, above referred to, mentions him as only a subordinate of a certain Śūdrakayya who was the governor of Kaṭambaḷige. Śūdrakayya is here called *Samadhigata Pancamahā-sabda Mahāsāmanta*, champion over fleeing armies, master of Āndhra-maṇḍala and *bhujanga* (i. e. paramour or lord) of Ujjeni.

Nanniya Sinda is recorded to have granted a certain tax in favour of the god of the Siḍitēśvara temple built by one Siḍilanka-Karṇa in the year 967 A. D., having made it to one Divyalinga Bhaṭṭāra². This grant is interesting for the fact that it refers to the city of Lōkāyata (Lōkāyatavolalu). The stone bearing this inscription is in Kalla-Khambadahālu in the boundary of Guṇḍēri and Malēnahalli. The Guṇḍēri referred to as a Lōkāyata city is still in existence. The *Lōkāyatas* were a sect of atheists who followed the doctrines of Carvāka. Mādhavācārya reviews their system in the opening chapter of his work the *Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha*.

Nanniya felt proud to be born in the *Sindakula* of whose individuality he seems to have been conscious. He-

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Hk, 30.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Hk., 23.

ends the grant by saying that "this *dharma* of the Sindas, whosoever is of the *Sindavamāsa* should maintain".¹ It is really interesting to note that Nanniya, who comes to our notice as a donor under the Rāstrakūṭas, was the ancestor of the Belgutti Sindas who in course of their history produced such distinguished rulers as Īśvara-deva II.

(1) *Ibid.*, XI, Hk, 23.

CHAPTER III.

JĀTARASA.

Jātarasa was the contemporary of the Cālukya king Taila II who ruled from A. D. 973 to 997. Besides a Dāvanagere inscription of A. D. 992¹, no other epigraph records the name of this Sinda. Jātarasa is styled the *Mahāsāmanta*, and was ruling the Kaṭambalige One-Thousand province. He was entitled to the honour of *panca-mahāśabda*, which explicitly implies that he was a very faithful and worthy official who deserved this honour newly conferred upon him. In fact, he is mentioned as the governor of Kaṭambalige under Taila II who is called Āhavamalladēva in this inscription.

Be it noted that the rise of the Sindas was gradual. We have seen in the last chapter that Nanniya Sinda was only an ordinary person under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III. Only a few years later we see Jātarasa as the *Mahāsāmanta* of the Kaṭambalige province.

Jātarasa was the scion of the same family to which Nanniya Sinda belonged. The records associate both the names with the province of Kaṭambalige² which seems to have been the place of their permanent habitation.

Jātarasa is the first member of the Sinda family to assume the title and office of *Mahāsāmanta*. Though the term literally means a feudatory chief, it should not be supposed that he really enjoyed the status of such a chieftain. *Mahāsāmanta* was a honorific title bestowed on provincial governors under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Cālukyas. It does not in any way carry the right to bequeath the province to the governor's descendants, a right which was enjoyed by the feudatory chieftains

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 114.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Hk. 23 and Dg. 114.

of ancient Karnāṭaka. The term used to denote a full-fledged feudatory chief was *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, and not *Mahāsāmanta*, though the latter epithet was rarely used to indicate the former meaning.¹ Similarly, the word *arasa* (king), used after the name Jāta, should not be understood in its literal sense. *Arasa* was again a honorific termination often indicating the high status enjoyed by an official. Nevertheless, this term *arasa* applied to Jāta testifies to the gradually enhancing influence of the Sindas.

The restoration of Cālukyan supremacy by King Taila II, after a lapse of about two centuries and a quarter, seems to have been a blessing to the Sinda race. With the splendour and prosperity of the Cālukyas, increased the glory of the Sindas. Throughout the period of Rāṣtrakuta predominance, the Sindas were a disappointed and dejected people. It appears that they fully sympathised with Taila II in his cause of re-establishing Cālukyan supremacy. Soon after defeating the Rāṣtrakūṭas in the person of the king Kakkala and thus retrieving the Cālukyan fortunes, Tailapa must have taken the Sindas into his confidence; and with their support set on task of placing the recovered dominions on a firmer basis. It was perhaps this policy that actuated Tailapa to appoint the Sinda chief Pulikāla to the governorship of the Bāgaḍage Seventy District.² It is to be noted, in this connection, that Pulikāla is styled *Raṇaraṅga-siṅga* (a lion on the battle-field), which may perhaps suggest that he distinguished himself in the work of defeating the last Rāṣtrakūṭa king Kakkala. This would also lend further support to the inference that the Sindas made common cause with Taila II. The appointment of Jātarasa to the governorship of Kaḍambaḷige province was the outcome of the same policy pursued by Āhavamalladēva.

Jātarasa was a Śaiva by faith. That he was a liberal supporter of Śaivism is borne out by the fact that he granted

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 316.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 232.

to Brahmarāsi-panḍita of the Ōsāna-tīrtha the customary dues of *Pullani* and those of the villages Sirigere, Posavūru, Sāvaṇūru and Kirugēri¹. Brahmarāsi Paṇḍita appears to be a *Kālāmukha* teacher, as the names ending in *rāsi* were generally borne by the members of that sect. The Śaivism taught by the *Kālāmukhas* was of the catholic type and did not break away from the traditional Vedic faith.

Nothing else is known about Jātarasa. He, by occupying the post of a *Mahāsāmanta*, entitled to the five big drums, made it easier for his descendants to rise to the distinguished position of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 114.

CHAPTER IV.

KAYAVĪRARASA.

Kayavīrarasa is the first known Sinda of the Belgutti House to assume the title of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*¹. We possess a *viragat* of his reign dated in 1061 A. D., which speaks of him as "ruling the kingdom of the world" (*prithu-vīrājjageyuttira*).² But unfortunately, the epigraph does not mention the extent of his kingdom. Nevertheless, judging from the place where the inscription was discovered, it may be presumed that he ruled over the surrounding parts of ancient Belagavatti in the Nāgarakhaṇḍa Seventy.

Kayavīrarasa was undoubtedly a subordinate of the Cālukya king Sōmēśvara I who reigned from A. D. 1042 to 1068, though the epigraph fails to mention the overlordship of any emperor. The very fact that he is styled a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* is a sufficient indication of his being a feudatory chief of some king or other. This overlord-king cannot be any other person than Sōmēśvara I. Records tell us that the province of Banavāsi, which included the territories of Kayavīrarasa, was under the suzerainty of Sōmēśvara I from as early as 1046³. Moreover, as seen in the last chapter, it was mainly due to the Cālukyas that the Sindas were able to rise to the position of the great feudatory families. Considering all this, it can be said without any fear of contradiction that Kayavīra Sinda was a subordinate of Sōmēśvara I.

It was during the reign of Kayavīra Sinda that his southern neighbours the Sāntāra Kings, Vīra-Sāntāra and his son Bhujabala, had to struggle very hard in order to "free their kingdom from those who had no claim to it".⁴ The

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk, 69.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk, 160, 151, 83 and 136.

(4) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Nr., 47 and 59.

reference, says Mr. Rice, may be to certain Cālukya princes Bijjarasa and his brother Gōṇa-Rāja who are stated to have been in full enjoyment of the Sāntāḷige Nāḍ in 1042 A. D.¹ At any rate, it is plain that the times of Kayavīra Sinda were somewhat troubled. This fact is borne out by the Sikārpur inscription of Kayavīra above referred to². It commemorates the death of a certain Biyaḡōpa who died in the act of recovering the cows from the hands of the enemies. Unfortunately, that portion of the inscription bearing the names of the raiders is worn out. Two conjectures are however possible. It may be that the enemies against whom Biyaḡōpa fought were the robbers who were all the more active and powerful, especially in such troubled times as of a political disturbance. Secondly, there is the probability of Kayavīra Sinda being involved in the Sāntāra politics. As the struggle was between the Cālukya princes and the Sāntāra kings, it is natural to presume that Kayavīra joined the former side. If this view is accepted, we have every reason to believe that the cattle-raid against the Sinda territory was one that was led by the Sāntāra Kings. However, this matter cannot be finally settled in paucity of materials both on the Sinda and Sāntāra sides.

Nothing is known of Kayavīra as a ruler; but there can be little doubt that he manifested all the necessary qualities of a successful *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*. That he bore genuine admiration for warriors and patriots is evident from the grant of certain lands which he made to Ibhaṭa, the son of the fallen hero Biyaḡōpa.³

The reign of Kayavīra marks a very important stage in the annals of the Belgutti Sindas. He was the first scion of the family to rise to the dignified status of a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, and thus to transmit to his posterity a kingdom which

(1) Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 139.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 69.

(3) *Ibid*

increased in influence under succeeding reigns for nearly two hundred years.

We do not possess any more information about this ruler, as there are no inscriptions which speak about him, excepting the one already referred to.

CHAPTER V.

PIRIYA CAṬṬARASA.

We do not know who succeeded Kayavīra Sinda as the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* of Belgutti. After the Sikārpur *viragal* of Kayavīra dated in 1061 A. D., there is not even a single Sinda inscription for a period of fifty-six years until we come to the reign of Caṭṭarasa. (This Caṭṭarasa should be distinguished from Piriya Caṭṭarasa, the subject of this chapter).

Nevertheless, this gap of more than half a century can be filled up only by a careful study of the Sinda records of the later period. Thus, the Dāvanagere inscription, dated in 1164 A. D., of the reign of Īśvara Dēva II Sinda¹ informs us that in his line many kings ruled the kingdom, and that among them Piriya Caṭṭarasa was celebrated, whose wife was Dōrabarasi. Their son, continues the record, was Jōgarasa and his son was Caṭṭarasa. The same facts are repeated in two other records that come from Honnālī Tāluka, the first dated in 1180 A. D.² and the other in 1228 A. D.³ Caṭṭarasa, mentioned in these inscriptions, must be the same Sinda person who is said to have been ruling in A. D. 1117 as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI⁴. The father of this Caṭṭarasa was one Jōgarasa, according to the epigraph of Īśvara Dēva II above referred to⁵. We may, therefore, naturally infer that Jōgarasa lived about the end of the eleventh century. This cannot be otherwise; because Caṭṭarasa the son of Jōgarasa, as already stated, was ruling as king in 1117 A. D., and from the details given in his record it can be inferred that he was not a minor in that

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 43.

(2) *Ibid.*, VII, Hl, 50.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*, VII, 8k, 316.

(5) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 43.

year¹. Even assuming that Caṭṭarasa was only twenty in A.D. 1117, we get 1097 as the year of his birth. Thus the date of Jōgarasa can be definitely settled.

Again reverting to the Dāvaṇagere inscription of Īśvara Dēva II, we learn that the father of Jōgarasa was Piriya Caṭṭarasa, the subject of this chapter. Piriya Caṭṭarasa must have, therefore, lived at the end of the third quarter of the eleventh century, say in 1075 A.D. As seen in the last chapter, Kayavīra Sinda was ruling as a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* in 1061 A. D. Considering all this, we are reasonably inclined to suppose that Piriya Caṭṭarasa was the successor of Kayavīra. But the question whether he was the son of Kayavīra cannot be answered in the present stage of research owing to paucity of materials.

The Dāvaṇagere inscription calls Piriya Caṭṭarasa a victorious and illustrious king who brought together many districts under one authority². One Honnāḷi epigraph says that he was a mine of bravery who conquered his foes and thus attained fame³. Another inscription applies to him the epithet "hero"⁴. These are evidently indications of his increasing authority and his vigorous personality. It is quite possible that he extended the limits of his kingdom. The inscriptions highly extol his qualities. They are unanimous in declaring that Piriya Caṭṭarasa was noted for valour and prowess and was almost cradled in the art of warfare. He is called "a very lion in bravery."⁵

The military success attributed to Piriya Caṭṭarasa does not seem to be a mere poetic exaggeration, if we judge him by his times. It was in his reign that the Coḷas led an invasion against the Cālukyan Empire, and are even said to have surrounded and besieged Gutti with an immense army. As Gutti is situated to the north of Beḷagavartti,

(1) See the Sikarpur Inscription 316 (*Ep. Car.*, VII)

(2) *Ep. Car.* XI, Dg. 43.

(3) *Ibid.*, VII, Hl. 50.

(4) *Ibid.*, VII, Hl. 20.

(5) *Ibid.*, XI, Dg. 43.

the capital of the Sindas and only at a distance of a few miles from it, it may be presumed that Piriya Caṭṭarasa had to fight against the Tamil invader. Caṭṭarasa seems to have played his part well, as the inscriptions above referred to testify to his conquest over enemies. This inference is further corroborated, when we are told that Vira-Cōḷa was beaten back by the Cālukya Emperor Somēśvara II in a fierce battle which gave him no rest.²

Piriya Caṭṭarasa was indeed a successful ruler, and it stands to his credit that he was proudly remembered and praised by his successors even after a period of about a century and a half, as in the Honnāḷi inscription of A. D. 1222.³

The real name of this ruler appears to be Caṭṭarasa—and not Piriya Caṭṭarasa. The appellation *Piriya* means the senior. As all the three inscriptions which speak of him were composed after the time of his grandson, his namesake, there is every reason to believe that the adjective *piriya* was used only with a view to distinguish the grandfather Caṭṭa from his grandson bearing the same name.

(1) *Ibid.*, VII, Sk. 136.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 136.

(3) *Ibid.*, VII, Hl. 20.

CHAPTER VI.

JÖGARASA.

Jögarasa was the son and successor of Piriya Caṭṭarasa¹. He ascended the throne in about 1100 A. D. No inscription of this king has come down to us, and therefore the little we know of him is derived from two Honnāḷi and one Dāvāṇagere records of his descendants.

His mother was Dōrabbe Arasi who was a highly accomplished woman². Both the Honnāḷi³ and the Dāvāṇagere⁴ inscriptions declare that she was skilled in many fine arts and was a "very ocean of good qualities." One Honnāḷi epigraph calls Jögarasa an illustrious king,⁵ which indicates that he was of some importance.

We said above that we do not possess any grants of this king. From this it is also possible to deduce that his reign was a very short one. This inference is also supported by the Dāvāṇagere record, above referred to, which states that Jögarasa was a young king who ruled the kingdom wisely. This would have us believe that he died in the prime of his life.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, Dg. 43 ; VII, Hl. 20 and 50.

(2) *Ibid.*,

(3) *Ibid.*, VII, Hl. 50.

(4) *Ibid.*, XII, Dg. 43.

(5) *Ibid.*, VII, Hl. 50.

CHAPTER VII.

CAṬṬARASA.

Caṭṭarasa was the son and successor of Jōgarasa.¹ We have no means to settle when precisely he came to the throne. However, the fact that his father's reign was a very short one and that the only record of Caṭṭarasa, that has come down to us, was issued in 1117 A. D., may lead us to infer that A. D. 1106-7 was probably the year of his succession.

It was only in the time of this ruler that the Sīndas of Belgutti began to grow in such great importance and power that they came to be counted among the first class feudatory chieftains of the day. Caṭṭarasa, in fact, enjoys all the titles and appellations which his ancestors did not possess. He is the first known person of the House who appears with his own flag (the *Nīladvaja* of the Sīndas), crest and emblems. What is more, he was entitled to be heralded in the public with the specific musical instruments of *mallaḷi* and *tūrya*. To quote his full title, he was "the *Samadhigata Pañcamāhāśabda*, the *Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara*, boon lord of *Karakūṭapura*, obtained of a boon from the goddess Mālaci having a blue flag, and the sounds of *mallaḷi* and *tūrya*, the Sinda sun, of the *Phaṇi-ājavamśa*, having the crest of a tiger and deer (*Vyāgrha-mṛga lāñchana*), the *Mahāmāṇḍalika*." This full title, which he bequeathed to posterity, is undoubtedly the indication of his having attained the status of a full-fledged *Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara*.

Caṭṭarasa is mentioned as the feudatory of Vikramāditya VI in A. D. 1117², when the great minister the *Danḍanāyaka* Govindarasa was in charge of Banavāsi Twelve

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Hl, 20 and 50; XI, Dg, 43.

(2) *Ibid.*, VII, Sk, 316.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk, 316.

Thousand as the provincial governor¹. That Caṭṭarasa was under the control of Gōvindarasa is manifest from the former's grant, above referred to. Gōvindarasa was entitled *Raṇaranga Bhairava*² and was a Brahmana of the *Vasiṣṭa gōtra* and appears to have been minister for peace and war.³

The record of Caṭṭarasa associates him with the government of only Eḍevaṭṭa Seventy Nāḍ.⁴ But it should not be supposed that his authority was limited to this division only. For we do not possess any more inscriptions of this reign, which would have perhaps helped us in determining the extent of his kingdom beyond Eḍevaṭṭa Seventy.

The times of Caṭṭarasa were remarkable in the history of Karnāṭaka, which then witnessed the growing power of the Hoysaḷas under their great king Viṣṇu-varḍhana. In the year 1116, the Pāṇḍyas of Uccangi were attacked by the Hoysaḷas and the result was that the Pāṇḍyas were defeated at the battle of Dummē⁵, and the conquest of Uccangi was soon completed by Cāma-dēva, the general of Viṣṇuvarḍhana⁶. After reducing the Pāṇḍyas, Viṣṇuvarḍhana started to lead predatory excursions into the Kadamba territories. The two inscriptions, assigned to 1120, describe him as "the capturer of Gangavāḍi, Nolamba-vāḍi, Uccangi and Hānumgal".⁷ The Hoysaḷa expedition on Hānumgal is interesting as regards the Sindas of Belgu-tti. Though the territory of the Sindas lay nearer from the capital of the Hoysaḷas, Viṣṇuvarḍhana does not seem to have invaded it in spite of his aggressive spirit. This only speaks well of the Sindas who, with their warlike qualities and unbounded fidelity to the Cālukyas, could not be so easily provoked even by a monarch like Viṣṇuvarḍhana.

(1) *Ibid.*, VII, Sk. 316.

(2) *Ibid.*, VII, Sk. 311.

(3) *Ibid.*, VII, Sk. 102 & 137.

(4) *Ibid.*, VII, Sk. 316.

(5) *Ibid.*, VI, Cm. 99.

(6) *Ep. Car.*, VI, Cm. 29 and 30.

(7) *Ibid.*, V, Cn. 212; VI Tk. 76.

It may be that the crushing defeat, suffered by Viṣṇuvardhana at the hands of the Yēlburga Sinda chieftain Ācugi II¹, kept him away from attacking the Belgutti kingdom, lest it would provoke the Yēlburga lions, Ācugi II and his son P'ermāḍi, who belonged to the same Sinda stock as the rulers of Belgutti.

Among the officers of Caṭṭarasa, the *prabhu* of Hēbbāla, and the *perggaḷe* Galimayya's son Sarvvānya Soṭṭi is mentioned². He is said to have made a grant of land to the Kālāmukha teacher Rudraśakti Paṇḍita, disciple of Kriyaśakti Paṇḍita, for the repairs of a certain temple and for providing food and cloth for the students and ascetics of that temple.³

In this connection, it will not be out of place to say a few words about the Kālāmukhas who then flourished under the liberal patronage of kings, chiefs and their officials. Kālāmukhas were great educationists who founded *maṭhas* and *agrahāras*. Learning was then in high repute; charity for educational purposes was almost proverbial; and building temples and providing for the maintenance of schools and religious centres seems to have been at its height during this period.

Nothing else is known about Caṭṭarasa. The year of his death cannot be definitely settled, though it looks probable that he died in about 1122 A. D.

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 244.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk, 316.

(3) *Ibid*

CHAPTER VIII.

ĪŚVARA DĒVA I.

We are not in possession of any material to ascertain as to who succeeded to the Sinda throne after Caṭṭarasa. We do not have even a single Sinda inscription for a period of forty-seven years until we come to A. D. 1164, when Īśvara Dēva II was ruling in the Belgutti line. Nevertheless, a Honnāḷi inscription, dated in 1175 A. D., states that a certain Īśvara Bhūpa Sinda "ruled the earth" and that he was the father of Mallidēva who in turn was the grand father of the then reigning Īśvara Dēva II¹. This Īśvara Bhūpa, mentioned in the inscription, appears to be the successor of Caṭṭarasa. But whether he was the son of Caṭṭarasa cannot be settled in paucity of materials.

No other inscription of the Sindas mentions the name of Īśvara Bhūpa. This fact is of great significance. It must be remembered, in this connection, that many inscriptions of later Sindas do refer to other Sinda kings who ruled prior to Īśvara Bhūpa (Īśvara Dēva I) and at times even speak of them in high terms. The very absence of Īśvara Bhūpa's name in these records is evidently an indication that he was a personage of little importance and therefore was not noticed even by his descendants.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, H1, 45.

CHAPTER IX

MĀCA AND MALLIDĒVA I.

Īsvara Dāva I had three sons, Māca, Mallidēva, and Ayharasa¹. Māca, who is also called Lakha Nṛpāla in one place, was the eldest², Mallidēva was the second son³ and Ayharasa, who is also known as Harasa, was the youngest⁴. Māca Nṛpāla must have acted as *Yuvarāja* in the life-time of his father according to Hindu traditions.

We are very unfortunate in not possessing any records of this king. Hence no details of his reign are forthcoming. Nevertheless, Māca seems to have been a successful ruler in view of the fact that his name appears very often in the later records of the Śinda kings⁵. One of these epigraphs tells us that Māca Nṛpāla, once "charging forward on one horse and attacking and dispersing the massed cavalry of the enemies' force", became famous⁶. The reference may be to a fight that ensued between him and the Hoysaḷa forces. The Śindas must have then troublous times in protecting their territory against the rising power of the Hoysaḷas in the south. Their position was rendered still more critical by the declining influence of the Cālukyas to the south of Tungabhadra during this period. We are told that Narasimha (Hoysaḷa) was carrying on raids on Banavāsi province⁷, which included the Belgutti kingdom. And only a few years after Mācarasa's death, the Śindas are mentioned as the feudatory chieftains not of the Cālukyas but of the Hoysaḷas⁸. Mācarasa's charging the cavalry above

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Hl. 35 and 45

(2) *Ibid.*, VII, Hl. 20, 50; XI, Dg. 43.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.*, XI, Dg. 43; VII, Hl. 20, 25 and 50.

(6) *Ibid.*, VII, Hl. 20.

(7) " V, Bl. 193.

(8) *Ibid.*, VII, Hl. 98.

referred to clearly shows that he was obliged to fight with the Hoysaḷa king. He is, however, credited with having succeeded in dispersing the enemy's force.

That Māca Nṛpāla was a powerful warrior-king can be gathered by a Dāvaṇagere record¹ which extols his military abilities. It speaks of him as a great soldier who won victory in many battles. It is said that he shone on the earth like the sun on account of his wonderful skill in the art of warfare. Caṭṭalādēvi, the senior queen of Māca, is described as a very beautiful woman devoted to her husband.²

Mācarasa's reign was a very short one. He seems to have died without any issue. For a record dated in 1075 describes his brother Mallidēva as a king who ruled in the Belgutti line.³

Mallidēva was the younger brother of Māca⁴. No inscription of his reign has come down to us. What little we know about him is derived from some later records which do not yield any historical information. A Honnāḷi epigraph, dated in 1222 A. D., states that Mallidēvarasa's praise was "spread in all the world",⁵ which only means that he was of some importance. The fact that the successor of Malli-dēva is mentioned as a feudatory of the Hoysaḷas conclusively proves that Malli-dēva was not able to stem the tide of the Hoysaḷa invasion which began in the reign of his brother Māca.

Mallidēva was, however, fortunate in having his younger brother Ayharasa to assist him in the administration of the country. Ayharasa appears to be a very able and worthy person who served his brother very faithfully till the end. We are told that what Balarāma was to Kṛṣṇa, Bhīmasēna

(1) *Car.*, XI, Dg. 43.

(3) *Ibid.*, VII, Hl. 45.

(5) „ VII, Hl. 20.

(2) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*, VII, Hl. 20, 25, 45, 50 ;
XI, Dg. 43.

to Dharmarāja and Lakṣmaṇa to Rāma, Ayharasa was to his brother Mallidēva, on account of his single-minded devotion, purity of behaviour, courtesy and above all courage and bravery¹. He was so widely known for his liberality, says the epigraph, that he was called *akḥiladānaviṇōdi*².

Mallidēva died in about 1160 A. D., and was succeeded by Īśvara Bhūpa II, the grandson of Ayharasa. This plainly shows that he was a very old man of about ninety at the time of his death.

(1) Ep. Car., XI, Dg. 43.

(2) *Ibid.*

CHAPTER X.

ĪŚVARA DĒVA II.

Īśvara Dēva II succeeded Mallidēva I, the brother of his grand-father Ayharasu, both his father Rāya and grand-father Ayharasa having died before Mallidēva. He was, therefore, only in his teens when he ascended the throne. His coronation seems to have taken place in about A. D. 1160, as the earliest inscription of his reign is dated in A. D. 1164¹.

Īśvara Dēva must have showed the signs of a successful ruler even before he became king. Hence his coronation was celebrated with great pomp and dignity, and the subjects were delighted to see an efficient promising youth at the helm of their affairs. At his coronation, says the inscription, the sounds of the drums and conches roused up Uragēndra (the king of the serpents) who, saying "This is an exaltation of my line ho! I must see this",at once came there with haste, the jewels of his head appearing like a great illumination. And with full affection, Suranadi (Gangā), Rudrāṇi (Pārvati), Śambhu (Śiva) and Hēramba (Gaṇēśa) came and blessed Īśvara Dēva to have long life and good fortune. "He who rejoices in the *Kaustubha*, who is like a cloudy sky in the hot season, and warmth to the body in the cold season, who reposing in the ocean is ever carrying on the three seasons,.....that Hari, may he grant to king Īśvara the attainment of his desires."² The epigraph continues with further praises, saying that with a signet ring of the serpent-jewel on his hand, with his powerful arms, body and sword, king Īśvara of the Sindakula appeared to his enemies like a terrible dragon ready to swallow them.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 43. (2) *Ibid.*

This description is indeed full of exaggeration and poetic fancy. Still it is of considerable importance, as it conveys us an idea of the manner in which the people entertained high hopes in their new king. A clear glimpse of the political situation of the Dekkan during this period makes us believe that it was a time when powerful chieftains like Īśvara were needed to protect their own petty states from the aggressive and ambitious spirit that pervaded the political life of Karnāṭaka.

Thus, the period to which Īśvara Dēva belonged was one of great political strife and confusion throughout the province. The Kālacūryas under Bijjala had subverted the Cālukyas and usurped their kingdom in A. D. 1156. The Hoysaḷas were getting more and more powerful, and the Kadambas of Hāṅgaḷ were trying to the best of their ability not to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Kālacūryas. In the midst of this struggle, as we have already noticed, Mallidēva died and was succeeded by Īśvara Dēva II.

We are, however, not so much concerned with the situation of the whole of the province as with the politics of Banavāsi Twelve Thousand, in which was included the Nāgarakhuṇḍa Seventy, the kingdom of the Belgutti Sīndas. As soon as Bijjala completed his usurpation, he appointed one Māyidēvarasa as the governor of Banavāsi for the collection of the regalia, such as the *hejjunka* and *vaḍḍarāvuḷa*.¹ The next notable figure in the galaxy of Kālacūrya governors was Kāśimayya who is mentioned in the records of about 1160.² Māyidēvarasa was the governor of Banavāsi in A. D. 1158.³ It is thus apparent that, by the time Īśvara Dēva Sinda ascended the throne, the Belgutti dynasty had acknowledged the suzerainty of the Kālacūryas. This is evidenced by the Dāvaṇagere inscription of 1164, which

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 190.

(2) *Ibid.*, 146.

(3) *Ibid.*, 190.

mentions Īśvara Dēva II as the feudatory of king Bijjala of whom it says that "his mighty arms a refuse for the circle of the earth, the black serpent his sword, nourished on the breath of hostile kings, his wealth satisfying the desires of the learned, his fame adorning the ears of the elephants at the points of compass."¹ Īśvara Dēva is here described as a follower (*anuvartī*) of his contemporary, the Uccangi king Vira Pāṇḍya, which fact would perhaps suggest that the former was an admirer of the latter.

Īśvara Dēva II was perhaps the greatest chieftain of the Belgutti House. During his reign he extended the influence of his family beyond the narrow limits of his hereditary kingdom. Only a few years after his coronation, he is described as ruling at Hallavūr², which is on the Tungabhadra river. It can be easily identified with the modern Hullūr in the Dhārwar District. It looks as if Bijjala bore genuine admiration for young Īśvara Dēva on account of his administrative as well as military qualities. With Bijjala as a favourable king as his suzerain and with his own abilities, Īśvara Dēva lost no time in extending his dominions both in the north and in the south. As early as in 1164, he seems to have added a large portion of territory to his kingdom as far north as Harihara, in which place we have one of his inscriptions dated in that year.³ That Īśvara Dēva was not only a conqueror but also a wise statesman can be made out of his having founded a second capital at the strategic point like Hallavūr, so that he might be able to protect the newly acquired northern districts of his expanding kingdom. We are told that he was ruling in peace and wisdom several *nāḍas* from Hallavūr, "an ornament of the earth", delightful with woods, situated on the bank of the Tungabhadra

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 43.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 43; *Rice, Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 60.

"whose waters are tinted with sandal."¹ The letters bearing the names of these northern *nāḍis* are unfortunately too much defaced to be certain about them.

Another record of A. D. 1165 also describes him as a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* ruling at Hallavūr over several small districts in the Banavāsi and Sāntāḷige provinces as a feudatory of the Kālacūrya king Bijjala.² This epigraph is of great importance, as it was discovered at the temple of Kullēśvara at Niḍanēgile in the Hāṅgal Tālukā of the Dhārwar District, a village which formerly belonged to the Kādambas of Hāṅgal. How Īśvara Dēva II was able to annex this part of the country to his kingdom at the expense of the Hāṅgal Kādambas is a fascinating study.

It must be said at the very outset that the period to which Īśvara Sinda belonged witnessed the weakness of the Kadamba *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* of Hāṅgal. The Kadamba king Kīrti Dēva, who ascended the throne in or about A. D. 1151³, was not so powerful a monarch as to successfully repulse the Kālacūrya invasion. Records show that the Kādambas were made to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Kālacūryas in about 1162.⁴ Īśvara Dēva seems to have taken advantage of the weakness of the Kādambas, and encroached on their territories. His way to success was made still easier by the Sāntāra king Jagadēva, his southern neighbour, who had just then acquired a considerable part of the Hāṅgal kingdom.⁵ This happened in 1160 A. D.⁶ Kīrti Dēva Kadamba, however, soon succeeded in repulsing the Sāntāra king. We are told in an inscription of 1163 that he marched against Jagadēva⁷ and in course of time laid siege to

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 43.

(2) *Carn. Deśa Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 97; referred to by Dr. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 577.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sb. 179; referred to by Prof. Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, p. 137.

(4) *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 179; *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sb. 418, 568, 177.

(5) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sa. 28.

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) *Ibid.*, VIII, Sb. 177.

Andasura, the fort of the Sāntāras, which was very close to Hombuca, their capital. This siege is referred to both in the Kadamba and the Sāntāra records.¹

The absence of Kīrti Dēva from his own kingdom afforded a very favourable opportunity to the ambitious Sinda chieftain Īśvara Dēva to extend the western frontier of his kingdom. Accordingly, he must have laid a campaign against Hāngal in 1164 and must have acquired a portion of it. This is evidenced by the fact that the above mentioned record of Īśvara Dēva was set up in the temple at Niḍanēgile in 1165. Īśvara Dēva also took advantage of the defeat of the Sāntāras at the hands of Kīrti Dēva. It would appear that he encroached on the northern districts of Sāntalige One Thousand, bordering on his kingdom. For we have seen that Īśvara Dēva was ruling over some small districts of Sāntalige province in 1165.

The Sāntāra king Jagadēva, who was thus deprived of his northern *nāḍis* by Īśvara Dēva, was apparently connected with the Hoysaḷas, as he is called Jagadēka-Vīra-Hoysaḷa Sāntāra Mārādēva.² It was thus quite natural that the Hoysaḷas would come in conflict with Īśvara Sinda sooner or later. In fact, a *vīragal* assigned to 1166 A. D. refers to a fight that ensued between *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Īśvara Dēva Sinda and a certain *Mahāpasāyita* (great master of robes) of Vīra-Narasimha Dēva Hoysaḷa.³ We are told in it that Īśvara Dēva, being angry with Arakere *Nāḍi* and having ordered a raid, entered Malevūr and captured Haṇṇisige.⁴ Arakere *Nāḍi* seems to be the territory lying east of Haḷlavūr on the other side of the Tungabhadra. Malevūr mentioned in the *vīragal* can be identified with the modern Malebennūr. It appears that Arakere *Nāḍi* was a newly acquired district to the Sinda kingdom, and hence the people rising in revolt

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sb. 567, 114.

(2) *Ibid.*, VI, Koppa, 10.

(3) *Ibid.*, VII, Hl. 98.

(4) „ VII, Hl. 98.

against Īśvara Dēva sought the help of the Hoysala officer mentioned above. Unfortunately, the *vīragal* is silent about the results of this fight. We do not know who won the battle. Nevertheless, the titles such as *Sinda-Gōvinda*, champion over adulterers, and the *Pālāla-cakravarti* applied to Īśvara Dēva at the beginning of this hero-stone would have us believe that Īśvara Dēva was able to repulse the Hoysala force and thus to maintain the possession of Anukere Nūḷ.

This *vīragal* is also important in the sense that it gives us an idea of the composition of the army in that period. The very fact that the stone was set up to commemorate the heroic death of a certain warrior Kāmōja, the son of goldsmith Rāmōja, is evidently an indication that soldiers were drawn from all castes including goldsmiths.

The Sāntāras were determined to carry on raids over the Sinda territory in order to get back their lost districts. That hostilities however broke in A. D. 1172 is evidenced from two *vīragals* which are dated in that year. The first of these *vīragals* says: "When the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Īśvara Dēva was in the residence of Beḷagavarti ruling in peace and wisdom the kingdom of Edivaṭṭe-nāḍ in Ballāre of Banavāsi-nāḍ, the Muduvalla Thirty and Narivalige Forty, when the king of Sāntalige-nāḍ coming by way of raid, entered Haṭṭivūr and Soratṭūr and carried off the cows,—Mallaya Dāsaya's son Chilaya and Mattala Mallayya's son Kātaya these two brothers, seeing it, without holding back, sprang forward, attacked, shot arrows, and like a destruction by Yama, slaying many, capturing the archers, drew their daggers and piercing the horse, recovered the cows, and gained the world of gods."¹ The second *vīragal* records: "When...Īśvara Dēvarasa was in the residence of Beḷagavarti—when the king of Sāntalige, Singi Dēva, coming on raid, entered Haṭṭivūr and carried off the cattle"². These

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Hl. 27.

(2) *Ibid.*, 26.

raids, though a great nuisance to Īśvara Dēva, do not seem to have been successful in achieving their object in view. For we are told by a later record found at Rāṇebennūr that Īśvara Dēva was ruling over several districts in the Sāntalige province¹.

The next year, that is A. D. 1173, witnessed a great event in the history of Karnāṭaka. In that year Narasimha having died, his son Ballāla II, whose reign vied in glory with that of his grand-father Viṣṇuvardhana, ascended the Hoysala throne.² He lost no time in carrying on his expeditions against various chieftains and thus enhancing the influence of his dynasty. In 1173 A. D., he sent an expedition against the Cangāḷva king and triumphed with the aid of an officer named Mādayya Nāyaka³. After subduing the Cangāḷvas, Ballāla Rāya directed his attention to the north. Before starting for the conquest of Uccangi in 1176, he seems to have made Īśvara Dēva acknowledge his suzerainty. This inference is supported by an epigraph dated in 1175, which states that a certain Toḍapilḷē Duṇṇāyaka, who is described as "a dweller at the lotus feet" of Ballāla Rāya, was holding the Beḷagavarti-nāḍ, evidently as the governor of it over Īśvara Dēva Sinda who is mentioned as the ruler⁴.

Īśvara Dēva Sinda, however, soon succeeded in throwing off this Hoysala yoke, and acknowledged the overlordship of the Kālacūryas, his former suzerains. This was partly accelerated by the expedition of Vira Ballāla to conquer the powerful Pāṇḍya chieftains, who were then the masters of the celebrated fort of Uccangi. When Ballāla Rāya with all his forces was engaged in reducing Uccangi-durga, Īśvara Dēva with the support of Rāya Murāri Sōvi

(1) *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 159; referred to by Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 577.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, VI, Ed. 136, 129.

(3) *Ibid.*, VII, Hl. 20.

(4) *Ibid.*, 45.

Dēva was able to drive out the Hoysala governor from his kingdom. This, in fact, is evidenced by an inscription of 1176 A. D., which says that *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Īśvara Dēva was ruling the Nāgarakhaṇḍa Seventy as a feudatory of Kālacūrya Bhujabala Cakravarti Sōvi Dēva¹.

Īśvara Dēva spent the rest of his years in faithfully serving the Kālacūrya suzerains and in enhancing their influence to the south of Tungabhadra. Sōvi Dēva died in about 1177 A.D., and was succeeded by his brother Sankama. There seems to have been some trouble in his reign, for his *Sēnādhipati* Kavaṇayya, the governor of Banavāsīnād, is said to have been proved himself the "upraiser of the sovereignty of the Kālacūryas."² He apparently, with the active support of Īśvara Dēva Sinda, put down certain of the feudatories and probably also some of the more troublesome independent neighbours, among whom must be classed the rulers of the Velnāḍa Cōloya, Hoysala and Koṅkaṇa countries, mentioned in the Honnālī grant of Īśvara Dēva.³ That Īśvara Dēva was a strenuous supporter of the Kālacūryas and that he had lent his great services for the preservation of Kālacūrya supremacy is amply proved by the above mentioned grant, which explicitly states that the *Sindānvaya* was the cause of the growth of the wealth of the minister Kavaṇayya and of all the rest of the Kālacūrya kingdom.⁴ This Kavaṇayya should have been a great minister; for he is said to have had under him over seventy-two officials.⁵ He is said to have been descended from Baṅkarasa of Baluhara in the Sāgara country, and had an younger brother named Mahādēva Daṇḍanāyaka⁶. Among Kavaṇayya's titles, *Gaṇḍa-peṇḍāra* and *Gaṇḍaragūva*⁷ may be mentioned.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 206.

(2) *Ibid.*, Hl. 50.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) *Ibid.*, Dg. 44.

Both Īśvara Dēva Sinda and minister Kāvaṇayya seem to have played important part in the Kālacūrya-Hoysala conflict that is referred to in an inscription, assigned to 1179 A. D.¹

Īśvara Dēva, who had advanced in age in 1180 A. D., was assisted in the government by his sons Pāṇḍya-dēva and Malli-dēva, two promising youths in their teens. We are told that these sons, acting under their father's orders, were administering the *nāḷs*, won by Īśvara Dēva by his own arm and inherited from his ancestors.² The list of these *nāḷs*, forming the territory of Īśvara Dēva, is unfortunately somewhat defaced. They are: "The Īḍevaliṭṭe Seventy, the (Nari) galige Forty, the Ballāve Seventy, the Hoḷalūr in Sāntalige, the Muduvara Eighty, the Yoḍasuleya Seventy; in Kaḍambaligo-nāḍ the Kolliga Seventy; the Fifty-six Bāḍa to Seventy, the Thirty Arakere, the Nuja-volalu Twelve, the Attigeri Twelve, the Elambēru Twelve." It is said that the kingdom of these *nāḷs* being united under him, Īśvara Dēva was ruling in peace and wisdom from the residence of Belagavarti, the joy of the Lakṣmi of the Banavāsi country.³ The extent of his kingdom will be brought home to the reader, when we say that the inscriptions of his reign are found in the three modern districts of Simoga, Citaldroog and Dhārwar.

Among the officials of Īśvara Dēva, was the customs *Heggaḍe* Hariyappayya who is recorded to have made a grant from the customs in 1172 A. D. for the offerings of the good Yōgēśvara of Harihara.⁴ Another was Bamma Gāvunḍa of Belagavarti who was occupying that post in 1175 A. D.⁵ Then we have a *Nāḷprabhu* Gāvunḍa whose headquarters were Cikka-Māgunḍi.⁶

(1) *Ep. Car.* VI, Mg 33.

(3) *Ibid.*, VII, Hl. 50.

(5) *Ibid.*, Hl. 45.

(2) *Ibid.*, VII, Hl. 50.

(4) *Ibid.*, XI, Dg. 61.

(6) *Ibid.*, VII, Sk. 206.

The reign of Īśvara Dēva was a crescendo of success. It may be safely affirmed that he made the right use of all the opportunities presented to him by the disturbed conditions of his times. It is true that Īśvara Dēva failed in 1175 to stem the tide of the Hoysaḷa invasion. But the very next year, he prevailed successfully against the Hoysaḷa governor, and was thus able to throw off the aggressor's yoke. He extended his kingdom both to the north and to the south at the expense of the Hānagal Kadambas and the Sāntāras. Furthermore, he successfully resisted the Sāntāra inroads which were made with a view to recover the lost districts of Sāntaḷige.

Īśvara Dēva's brilliant reign extended over a period of about twenty-five years. Having come to the throne in 1160 A. D., his reign may be regarded as one of struggles for the protection of the Beḷgutti kingdom which was on its decline at the time of his coronation.

Reading the inscriptions of Īśvara Dēva, one feels that he should have been an active prince blessed with warlike qualities. He kept on a friendly intercourse with the Kālacūryas, whom he gladly accepted as his overlords. This only shows that he was a wise politician. Those times were such that it was not possible for a minor chieftain like Īśvara Dēva to enhance the influence of his House without being backed by a powerful dynasty like the Kālacūryas.

Besides being a skilful soldier, Īśvara Dēva was an efficient administrator. He was also responsible for the diffusion of learning among his subjects. It was for this reason that he made frequently endowments to seats of learning. We have it on record that he once made a grant of land to the Brahmans of an *agrahāra*, which he had himself established.¹ Grants made by him to the professors of this college are also registered.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Hl. 45.

Īśvara Dēva, though a Śaiva by birth, was not merely tolerant to other faiths, but was active in helping the cult of Harihara, which was then introduced with an idea of reconciling the rival sects, the Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaivas. This is testified by one of his grants which records his liberal endowments to the god Śankara-Nārāyaṇa of the southern Gango-Vāraṇāsī.¹ Another of his epigraphs ends with an obeisance both to Śiva and to Nārāyaṇa.²

Īśvara Dēva died in about 1185, having fully realised his plans. He also established on a sound footing the power of the southern Sindas which lasted after him for a period of about seventy-five years. His very titles, "*The Sinda-Gōvinda*, champion over adulterers, *Pātāḷa-cakravartī*, a saw to those called kings, an elephant-goat to the titled, treading the mountains into a heap, champion over the hill chiefs, fierce in war, *Niśśanka-malla*, a sun to good warriors, a Nārāyaṇa"³, are evidently indications of his greatness, which entitles him to be reckoned among the most powerful chieftains of Sindavanśa.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dz. 43.

(2) *Ibid.*, VII, Hl. 45.

(3) *Ibid.*, 26.

CHAPTER XI.

MALLIDĒVA II.

Īsvara Dēva II had four sons, Pāṇḍya-nṛpa or Pāṇḍya Dēva, Mallidēva, Rāya and Vijaya.¹ The second son Malli Dēva succeeded his father, his older brother Pāṇḍya Dēva having died before Īsvara Dēva II. The Sinda inscriptions of this period do not say when precisely he came to the throne. However, the fact that the latest date for Īsvara Dēva afforded by the epigraphs is A. D. 1180² and that the earliest record of Mallidēva II was issued in 1187³ may lead us to infer that A.D. 1184-85 was probably the year of his accession.

Mallidēva was not allowed to enjoy peace from the very beginning. Soon after he came to the throne, Vijaya Pāṇḍya of Uccangi began to carry raids on the Sinda territory. A *vīragul* dated in 1187 A.D. records that when Mallidēvarasa was ruling the kingdom, Pāṇḍya joining with Cattanṇpāla and having suddenly sprung upon Nelivarti, carried off all the live cattle⁴. Mallidēva, with the aid of his commander Caṭṭaya Nāyaka, was able to repulse the attack, though the latter lost his life in the attempt⁵. We are told that Caṭṭaya Nāyaka, pursuing after the enemies, drove them off and pursuing through the great army, recovered many cows.⁶ *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Mallidēva bore genuine admiration for his general Caṭṭaya on account of his bravery. It is recorded that he made grants of land to Caṭṭaya's children, to be continued in the family for ever⁷.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Hl. 20.

(2) *Ibid.* VII, Sb. 276; VII, Hl. 50.

(3) *Ibid.*, VII, Hl. 35.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) *Ibid.*

Vijaya Pāṇḍya having died soon after this raid, Mallidēva was allowed to rule in peace.

Troubles, however, broke out in the northern part of the province. Āhavamalla Kālacūrya was succeeded by his younger brother Singhaṇa Dēva in 1183 A.D.¹ He was not as capable a ruler as he ought to have been. This gave an opportunity to Cālukya Sōmēśvara IV and his followers to subvert the usurping Kālacūrya line. That Sōmēśvara soon succeeded, with the active support of his general Bāma, in re-establishing the Cālukyan supremacy is evidenced by the Anṇigēri inscription, dated in 1184-85 A.D., which says plainly that Bāma, who was "a fire of death to the Kālacūryas", seized the whole earth for the purpose of making the Cālukyas lords of all the world².

The disappearance of the Kālacūryas from the history of Karnāṭaka left the Sindia chieftain Mallidēva II in a very critical position. He had only one alternative before him. It was to acknowledge the suzerainty of Sōmēśvara IV, in order to protect the integrity and semi-independence of his kingdom from the powerful hands of Vira Ballāḷa II. Thus, Mallidēva was only too glad to transfer his allegiance to Sōmēśvara IV. In fact, an inscription dated in 1189 refers to Sōmēśvara as his overlord and describes Mallidēva as "a dweller at his lotus-feet".³ The Kadambas also followed suit. Kāma Dēva Kadamba is mentioned as a feudatory of Sōmēśvara in a record dated in 1189 A.D.⁴ But Sōmēśvara IV did not long exercise his suzerainty. New enemies such as the Yādavas in the north and the Hoysaḷas in the south⁵ completely absorbed the whole of the Cālukyan Empire.

(1) *Ep. Car.* VII, Sk. 59.

(2) *Carn. Desh Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 37; referred to by Dr. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 464.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Hl. 46.

(4) *Ibid.*, VIII, Sb. 179.

(5) *Ind. Ant.*, II, p. 299.

Thus, Mallidēva II automatically became independent as soon as Sōmēśvara IV ceased to exercise his suzerainty. This is shown by an inscription of Mallidēva dated in 1195 A. D., where he is mentioned without any overlord.¹ But later on, Mallidēva had to pay a very heavy price for his temporary compulsory independence.

Mallidēva was not, however, troubled by any political power for a short period of five years, that is, from 1190 A. D. to 1195. It is presumable that during this period he was getting ready in order to resist the expected attacks from Vīra-Ballāḷa II who, after defeating the Yādavas in 1191 A. D., was the most powerful king in the Karnāṭaka.² The decisive-victory of Vīra Ballāḷa over the Yādava king, Bhīllama determined, at least temporarily, that the Hoysalas should be supreme in the southern part of the Dekkan. Thereafter, Vīra Ballāḷa turned his attention to subdue the two *Mahāmaṇḍalīśvarīyan* Houses, namely, the Kadambas of Hāṅgal and the Sindas of Belgutti, the hereditary enemies of his family.

Of these two powers, the Kadambas of Hāṅgal were undoubtedly the stronger enemies. Vīra Ballāḷa, therefore, seems to have divided his forces into two. The larger under his personal command was meant to invade the Kadamba territory, while the smaller force, which probably consisted of only foot-soldiers and cavalry, was entrusted to one of his generals who had to work under the orders of Ballāḷa's warlike queen Umā Dēvī.

Thus, when Vīra Ballāḷa was engaged in wars against the Kadambas, Umā Dēvī began her persistent attacks against the Sindas. Both the contests commenced simultaneously in A. D. 1195. A *vīragal* of 1195 refers to the battle of Erattapaḷḷi³ which, we believe, was fought between

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Hl. 51.

(2) *Ibid.*, VIII, Sb. 140.

(3) *Ibid.*, 439 and VII, Hl. 51.

the Sindas and the Hoysalas, though the name of the anti-Sinda party is not mentioned. It seems that the Hoysala force was defeated on this occasion. We are told that one Kallēya Nāyaka, being ordered by Mallidēva, attacking the enemy and aiming at and piercing those who opposed them, created alarm in the army. Thus when they were in perfect confusion he fell upon them and drove them off. It is also said that he slew many before he died on the field¹.

Umā Dēvi returned with her army the next year, and Mallidēva had to fight again. The *viragal* states that Umā Dēvi's warriors, suddenly coming with horses and seizing the cows, were defeated. She was repulsed by Mallidēva's force under the general Caṭṭaya Nāyaka, who however was killed in the battle. It is expressly stated that Caṭṭaya Nāyaka, with great bravery, attacked the enemies and drove them back.² As regards the heroism of the general, the *viragal* says: "At the bidding of king Malla, with whom was Boppā Dēvi, Caṭṭaya fought among the bodyguards and pursuing the enemies with his sharp sword, so that all the world applauded, gained the release from transmigration to *Svarga*".³ The *viragal* ends with further praises of Caṭṭaya's valour. It is thus apparent that the Hoysala force did not succeed this time also. Nevertheless, Mallidēva lost many of his best warriors among whom the body-guard Kēśava Nāyaka's son Mallaya and Jādara Sōmayya's son Appuga were distinguished⁴. The fact that we possess four memorials preserving this event amply proves that it was a bloody fight causing immense loss of life on both sides.

(1) *Ep. Car.* VII, HI. 51.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*, 37.

(4) *Ibid.*, 38, 39, 40.

Despite this defeat the warlike queen Umā Dēvi was persistent in her attacks. Accordingly, she returned again the next year apparently with a large force. We are told that she was so successful at the beginning that she was able to make a raid on Belāṅavartī itself, leaving her camp on the banks of Kuvaḍi river¹. She was almost nearing victory when suddenly the national militia of the Sinda kingdom came out in a body, gave battle and defeated Umā Dēvi, just when she was seizing the cattle of the village Kattige².

Mallidēva's army pursued Umā Dēvi and inflicted a severe defeat on her near Voḍḍanākore³. We are told that the Sinda soldiers fought bravely, "slaying many, seizing the archers, drawing their daggers and stabbing the horses." Among the military officers who died in this battle, Malaya's son Cilaya and one Muḍanamayya are mentioned. A *śīragal* was instantly set up to commemorate their death. Thus, we have seen that Umā Dēvi's force was defeated on each occasion; but she seems to have obtained a lot of booty.

Nevertheless, Mallidēva Sinda was not destined to maintain his independence any longer. The same year, that is, in 1193 A. D., Mallidēva was made to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Hoysaḷas. How was this done when Umā Dēvi was repeatedly defeated?

As we have already seen, Vīra Ballāḷa II was preoccupied with wars against the Hāṅgal Kādambas in the north, and was therefore not able to lead an expedition in person against Mallidēva Sinda. It was for this reason that a part of his force was set apart under Umā Dēvi for the conquest of Belgutti kingdom. But when Ballāḷa II saw that

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII. Hl. 28.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*

Umā Dēvi was defeated on all occasions, he appears to have determined to take personal part in the conquest of the Sindas lest they would grow stronger, intoxicated by their success against Umā Dēvi. What is more, Vīra Ballāla II was also defeated and repulsed by the Hāṅgal Kadamba king Kāma dēva in his attempt to reduce the fort of Hāṅgal.¹ This was in A. D. 1196. He must have, therefore, realised that he would require all his force to bring the Kadambas under subjugation. But this was not possible, as long as his army was divided under him and his queen Umā Dēvi. The only alternative now left to him was to conquer the Sindas first, and then to direct all his attention towards the Kadambas. Hence Vīra Ballāla must have gathered all his forces under him and invaded the Sinda territory. Mallidēva was not so powerful a monarch, like his contemporary Kāma Dēva Kadamba, as to successfully stem the tide of the combined Hoysala invasion. He, however, was defeated and was forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of Vīra Ballāla. This is evidenced by an inscription, dated in 1198 A. D. which describes Mallidēva Sinda as a *Mahāmaṇḍalāśvāra* under Vīra Ballāla II.² What is more, Mallidēva was deprived of his northern districts. We are told that in 1200 A. D., Vīra Ballāla was in the residence of Vijaya-samudra which is called *Rājadhani* and is said to be on the Tungabhadra.³ It is evidently the same as the Vijayapura or Hallavūr of other records⁴, the northern capital of the Belgutti Sindas. Vīra Ballāla was residing at the same place in 1205, 1209, 1210 and 1211 A. D.⁵ From this it is crystal clear that Vīra Ballāla had annexed Hallavūr after Mallidēva's defeat.

(1) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 563.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 316.

(3) *Ibid.*, V, Hs, 139.; Cn. 172.

(4) *Ibid.*, V, Cn. 244.

(5) *Ibid.*, V, Cn. 181, 172, 244 and Ak. 40, 137.

Mallidēva II, however, continued to rule as a feudatory of the Hoysalas till the end. For an inscription dated in 1204 A. D. informs us that he was a subordinate of Vīra Ballāla¹.

Thus, the reign of Mallidēva was disturbed by wars. The times were such that it was not possible for the Sindas to resist for a long time the attempts of the Hoysalas at establishing their hegemony over the Dekkan. That is the reason why Mallidēva, who fought so bravely against Umā Dēvi, had to submit to Vīra Ballāla in 1197 A. D. The inscriptions throw some light on the political conditions of the time. For instance, we read in one epigraph the description of a Sinda official who is said to have been "a plunderer of everything of which fierce feudatories are proud"².

Among the officials of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Mallidēva Sinda, some are mentioned. One of them was *Suṅka-veggale* Dēvaṇṇa of the customs department, who was holding the office in 1189 A. D.³ The inscription refers to his pious deeds and good qualities. He had an elder brother called Perumala who is also said to have been serving under Mallidēva. Their father was Mikkara Saṇḍi Paṇḍita of the *Kaṇvagōtra* and their mother Honnavve. We are told that *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Mallidēvarasa, sending for this "generally praised" Dēvaṇṇa of the *herjjunka*, made a grant of *Bṅgāriyahaḷli* in 1189 for the services of the god Siddēśvara. On this occasion Dēvaṇṇa was directed to release the customs dues and to free the grant from artisan's tax, oil mill tax, partnership tax, *bīravana*, the family tax, *herjjienka*, *koḷavīsa* and *handara-haṇa*.

Sandhivigrahi Śāntiyaṇṇa, who is said to have been famous as a minister for peace and war, is mentioned in an

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Hl. 7.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*, 45.

inscription of 1198 A. D.¹ His son was Īca who held the same office after his father. The wife of Īcarāja was one Sōviyakka. Another official of some note was a certain Mallidēva, the *Gāvunḍā* of Gaggana-Hasavūr. He is mentioned as making a grant of land and money for the right manner of ceremonies of the god Īśvaradēva².

A feudatory of Mallidēva Sinda worthy of mention is referred to in one record³. He is spoken of as entitled to the five big drums and as a crest jewel of great feudatories. He was apparently a loyal supporter of his master Mallidēva. He is described by the titles "plunderer of everything of which fierce feudatories are proud, hunter of elephants, an elephant-goat to hostile feudatories, a lion in splitting the skulls of the rutting elephants his enemies". It is said that he, being born in a good and exalted family, was a protector of *dharma*. An incident which testifies to his great bodily strength and valour is fortunately preserved in the epigraph which says: "On its coming in bewilderment to the forest and sporting on a hill, by the power of his arm he captured a great rutting elephant for the Cālukya emperor (undoubtedly Sōmēśvara IV), who in return for his ready aid gave him the name of *Sāvanta* as an elephant-goat, and thus became known in his family as *Sāvanta-Buva*." His younger brother was Sāmanta-Rāma, a very "Blūma in war". Rāma had a son called Rācamalla who was known for his skill in wrestling. We have it on record that *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Mallidēva and Sāmanta-Buva made grants of land in favour of the god Rāmanātha⁴.

Among the minor officers, Saṅka Gāvunḍa of Ayyanūr is mentioned. He set up a Nandi in the immemorial *agrahāra* of Nalavaṭṭi⁵. One Dēvarasa of Boḷagavarti

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 315.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*, VII, Hl. 7.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.* 3

is said to have repaired the temple of Rāmēśvara in the year 1204¹. Another officer with the designation *Sāvanṭa* set up the god Rāyēśvara in Cikka-Bēgūr in the name of his father Rāya-dēva, and also made a grant to that god and the god Saṅgamēśvara of Kuruva. The customs officers Virūpayya and Nākaṇṇa, who were ruling the customs of Edavuttō and Ballāve *nāḷs*, are referred to as remitting the customs duties of the village Ranganāthadēvarapurada-haḷḷi². Other names are the *Nāḷ-prabhu* Haḍavaḷa Kalleya, *Nāḷa-heggade* Cundayya, *Sāmanṭa* Rāmāyya, Bhoppa-Gāvunḍa, and Māca-Gavunḍa of Manuḷi³.

Mallidēva's reign which began in 1185 A. D. seems to have ended in about 1205. The last inscription of his reign dated in 1204⁴ probably marks his last date.

One epigraph gives Boppā Dēvi as the name of Mallidēva's queen⁵.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Hl. 7.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XII

ĪŚVARA DĒVA III.

On the death of Malli Dēva II, his son Īśvara Dēva III ascended the throne of Belgutti.¹ This event probably took place in 1205 A.D. for the last inscription of Malli Dēva is dated in 1204² and the first epigraph of Īśvara Dēva III is dated in 1206.³

We have already noticed in the last chapter that Malli Dēva II was forced to give up the northern *nāḍis* of his kingdom to Vira Ballāḷa II. Consequently, when Īśvara Dēva III came to the throne, he had to rule over only a small territory surrounding Belagavarti, the capital.

Vira Ballāḷa II, having thus obtained the northern half of the Sinda kingdom, entrusted it to the charge of his intelligent queen Umā Dēvi who is described as ruling from Hullavūr in 1209 A.D.⁴ This was a bitter humiliation to the proud Sinda chieftain Īśvara Dēva III, who was a rising youth at the time of his coronation. It appears that he was imbued with a deep-seated hatred against the Hoysala dynasty, the hereditary enemy of Sindavamaśa. He remembered the glorious days of the Cālukyan Empire and with it the lost splendour of the Sinda race. In fact, one of his early records, dated in 1208, speaks of the Cālukya emperors in high terms, though their rule was a thing of the past. The epigraph says: "Earth having placed the Kuntala country in their hands, they ruled it without anxiety, with all in

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, H1, 25.

(2) *Ibid.*, 7.

(3) *Ibid.*, 25.

(4) *Ibid.*, V, Ak. 40.

creasing happiness". Īśvara Dēva, though dispossessed of a greater portion of his kingdom, was not without hopes of retrieving the losses his father had sustained. He was only waiting for a favourable opportunity which would free him from the intolerable suzerainty of the Hoysaḷa king.

Īśvara Dēva was, therefore, only too glad to see the rising power of the Yādavas in the north. Singhaṇa, the son of Jaiṭugi II of the Yādava dynasty, was a very capable monarch who increased his power to a great extent at the expense of the Hoysaḷas. The Gadag inscription of 1213 A.D.², coupled with the statement in the Paithan grant³ that Singhaṇa overthrew Ballāḷa, shows that he succeeded in wresting back from the Hoysaḷas all the territory lying to the south of the Malprabhā and the Kṛṣṇa. His efforts were crowned with still greater success in the following two years. His record of 1215 at Beḷagāṃve shows that he had conquered all the territories occupied by the Hoysaḷas in the neighbourhood of that city.⁴ Īśvara Dēva III was not at all slow to take advantage of this favourable political situation. In fact, he seems to have at once transferred his allegiance to the Yādavas and thus became the feudatory of Singhaṇa. This inference is corroborated by an inscription, dated in 1215 A.D., which describes Īśvara Dēva III as a subordinate of "the Yādava Nārāyaṇa, the *Pratāpa-cahravarti* Simhaladēva"⁵. When Māyidēva Daṇṇāyaka, the governor of the Yādavas, was holding the superintendence of Banavāsi-nāḍ, Īśvara Dēva retained the Yādava suzerainty till the end of his life. What is more, he appears to have been a strenuous supporter of Singhaṇa, while a dead enemy of Vira-Ballāḷa II. That Singhaṇa found an able supporter in Īśvara Dēva is evidenced by a

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Hl. 25.

(2) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 524.

(3) *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 314.

(4) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 523.

(5) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Hl. 25.

Sinda record of the latter's reign, which proudly states that it was out of the *Sindāṇvaya* that the growth of Simhala's kingdom arose¹.

The Hoysaḷa power had suffered great damage in this period owing to the constant struggles with the Yādavas. This had obviously a deliterious effect upon them, which satisfactorily explains how Īśvara Dēva III could free himself from the Hoysaḷa yoke in course of a few years. Moreover Vira Ballāḷa had much advanced in age and had lost the juvenile vigour that had always attended his early expeditions.

Nevertheless, the ambitious old man seems to have carried on raids against the Belgutti kingdom, though he did not lead them in person. A Sinda *viragal* of 1215 records: 'When, with all titles, the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Īśvara Dēvarasa was in Beḷagavartī, ruling in peace and wisdom, one day Malla Setti's son Kāḷya, being ordered by Īśvara Dēva fought in the battle and gained the world of gods.'² It is true that the *viragal* does not mention the name of the enemy against whom the battle was fought. But it may be rightly presumed that it was the Hoysaḷa force that was carrying on expeditions against Īśvara Dēva. For there was no other political power, then left in the neighbourhood of Belgutti, so strong as to invade the Sinda territory. The Sāntāras, the southern neighbours of the Sindas, had now fallen on evil days. They had lost a considerable portion of their territory, and had transferred the centre of their Kingdom southwards to Kaḷasa in the Muḍagera Tālukā.³ Kāmadēva, the Kadamba king of Hāṅgal, was no doubt a powerful monarch. Though he was successful in subjugat-

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Hl. 20.

(2) *Ibid.*, 41.

(3) *Ibid.*, VI, Mg. 65.

ing the Sāntāras, the Ālūpas and the Gōā Kadambas¹, he dared not to oppose Īśvara Dēva Sinda. At any rate, a Sinda *viragal* of 1216 A. D. shows that the *Bēḍas* were making raids on Beḷagavarti kingdom.² And we know that the Hoysaḷa kings enlisted local robber tribes of the *Bēḍas* in their army. It is thus apparent that Vira Ballāla was bent upon bringing back Īśvara Dēva Sinda to his allegiance.

But to know how far his efforts were crowned with success, we have to study the Sinda records that have come down to us. It is said in one of these inscriptions that a certain fight took place in the Beḷagavarti fort itself in the year 1215 A. D.³ But the *viragal* does not say anything about the result of this fight. The very fact that the enemy was successful in entering the fort shows that the Hoysaḷas were almost nearing victory. But as ill-luck would have it, they appear to have been repulsed. For we learn from another *viragal* that in the next year the Sinda kingdom was threatened by the Hoysaḷas who now returned with a larger *Bēḍa* force.⁴ How was it possible for Īśvara Dēva to prevail so successfully against the Hoysaḷa army which was almost on the point of victory? The obvious reason for this seems to be that the Yādava general Māyi Dēva Daṇṇāyaka, who was then the governor of Banavāsi-nāḍ⁵, hurried to the support of his ally Īśvara Dēva and pursued the Hoysaḷa force. A Sinda *viragal* dated in 1215 A. D., mentioning the name of Māyi Dēva Daṇṇāyaka, lends support to our presumption. It states that when Malla's son Īśvara Dēva was gaining great mērit, a hero, (whose name

(1) *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 605; referred to by Dr. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 563; *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sb. 188; *Morass, Kadamba Kula*, Appendix No. III, 5.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Hl. 48.

(3) *Ibid.*, 42.

(4) *Ibid.*, 48.

(5) *Ibid.*, 44.

is unfortunately worn out) fighting bravely, drove off the enemies and entered with his horse the abode of *svarga* ¹.

The next year witnessed a greater conflict, which was at last decided in favour of the Sindas and the Yādavas.² We are told that the Hoysaṣas came with a large *Bēḷa* force and began looting the Sinda territory. Paṭṭa Sāhaṇi Cinnā, who assumed the generalship of the Sinda army, was a great soldier and a faithful servant. Though he lost his life in the attempt, he is said to have inflicted a crushing defeat on the raiders who took to their heels. "Paṭṭa Sāhaṇi Cinnā, like an angry Yama, pursued them", says the *viragal*. "Hastening after them, on coming in sight of the *Bēḷa* force, he shouted, and charging on his horse which was as fleet as the wind, he played at ball with their heads, and performing astonishing feats, received the cows, and made feast for the kites". "Who had a servant like Cinnayya was to Īśvara Dēva?", asks the composer. "Thus having successfully carried out his master's orders, he went to *svarga*". Īśvara Dēva, approving of the incalculable services of his general, made a grant of land as a *ḍiṅgariga vṛtti* (or servant's means of livelihood) to his son and to his younger brother Yaṅkayya, to be continued to children's children. ³

Being encouraged with this success, Īśvara Dēva Sinda set on the task of extending his kingdom, and thus to recover all the districts which formed the part of the Sinda territory during the distinguished rule of his grand-father Īśvara Dēva II. Fortunately for him the times were very favourable. Vira Ballāḷa II was now an old man with lost vigour. Moreover, we are told that he, being on a tour of victory, was in 1818 in his camp at Niḍugal-durga in *Sirē-Nāḍ*, the extreme north-eastern part of what is now

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Hl. 44.

(2) *Ibid.*, 48.

(3) *Ibid.*

known as Mysore State.¹ Thus Īśvara Dēva was left free to pursue his policy of aggression in the western part of Mysore. As regards the Kadambas of Hāṅgal, the north-western neighbours of Belgutti kings, their illustrious king Kāma Dēva died in 1217 A. D., and was succeeded by Malli Dēva who was not as powerful as his predecessor.² We have already noticed that the Sāntāra kings were very weak during this period. What is more, the Yādavas of Dēvagiri were not only in good terms with the Sindas, but their general Māyi Dēva Daṇṇāyaka, who was then in charge of Banavāsi province³, found in Īśvara Dēva a good supporter of his policy.

It looks as if the Yādavas and the Sindas of Belgutti formed a secret alliance against the Kadambas of Hāṅgal, who had not acknowledged the suzerainty of Singhaṇa. Accordingly, Īśvara Dēva began cattle raids on the Kadamba territory. Lifting neighbour's cattle was one of the causes of ancient warfare in the Karnāṭaka. We have already seen that this was the basis of many a war between several powers in the Dekkan. In fact, cattle-lift was nothing short of a call to arm. We are told that Īśvara Dēva III of Belagavarti, with various chieftains and with the *Nāyakas* of the Sāntāḷige district, together with ten thousand men and a thousand horses, descended on Abbalūru (modern Ablūr in Dhārwar District), which was then included in the Hāṅgal Kadamba kingdom, and seized the herd of penned-up cows.⁴ Bīra Gauḍa of Abbalūr at once called the local militia and gave orders to fall upon the enemy. Two brothers of carpenter's caste by name Mācha and Gōma displayed wonderful bravery on this occasion. "While the valiant Baḍiga Māca", says the *vīraḡaḡa*, "having rained blows on the array of horses that he drove away, was still attacking them, and

(1) *Ep. Car.*, V, Hn., 61.

(2) Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, p. 149.

(3) *Ep. Car.* VII, Hl. 48.

(4) *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 264.

while Gōma, having started fiercely at them, was shooting arrows, the whole of the hostile force immediately fell down in all the directions. What words can I use! If you consider, it surpasses all comparison!! Meeting them in the most terrifying manner, Māca, the son of Kētōja, plunged recklessly into the hostile force, and pierced many of them in such a way that the bravery of these two brothers was a wonder to the earth. Māca and Gōma fought in battle with many people, and killed numbers of them, and went with great fame to heaven".

From this extract it is quite clear that Īśvara Dēva was bound to retire to his own territory leaving the raid.

The *viragal* is also important in as much as it says that the Nāyakas of Sātālige district were in the army of Īśvara Dēva. Sātālige is the same as Sāntalige, the original kingdom of the Sāntāras. We have already noticed that the Sāntāras were very weak during this period. It is therefore quite possible that Īśvara Dēva, with the support of the Yādava general Māyidēva, encroached on the Sāntāra territory and thus extended the southern borders of his kingdom. The Nāyakas mentioned in the above record were undoubtedly the local chiefs appointed by Īśvara Dēva to rule over this newly acquired district.

Īśvara Dēva seems to have continued to make incursions into the Kadamba country, though there is no evidence to that effect. Despite the aggressive policy of the Sindas and the Yādavas, Kadambas of Hāngal did not acknowledge the supremacy of Singhana during the life-time of Īśvara Dēva. In fact, the Kadamba inscriptions of this period do not refer to any king as their overlord. On the contrary, all the records invariably style the Kadamba king "the *Kadamba Cakravartī*"¹.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sb. 188; referred to by Prof. Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, p. 151.

But one of the immediate results of these constant raids was that brigandage and lawlessness grew in the Kadamba country. It is needless to say that the Sinda and Yādava armies marching about the kingdom laid waste the fields and severely crippled the agricultural industry. The people who were thereby thrown out of employment naturally took to the familiar resources of rapine and plunder. Inscriptions are abounding in the country which recount the outrages committed by the brigands.

The reign of Īśvara Dēva's predecessor had witnessed the end of the Pāṇḍya kingdom of Uccangi. In A. D. 1220 we find the Pāṇḍya-nāḍ under the Hoysaḷas who it is said had thrashed the Pāṇḍya kings on the field of battle². But Vira Ballāḷa II having died in 1220 A.D., Īśvara Dēva Sinda made it his policy to extend the limits of his kingdom on the Pāṇḍya side also. As a matter of fact, he is described as ruling the Uccangi thirty among other nāḍs in 1220 A. D.³.

A Honnāḷi inscription discloses the fact that Īśvara Dēva III had at least two queens; they were Caṭṭale, the mother of Kēśava, and a certain Dēvi, (whose name is not legible) the mother of Sovala and Kaḷale⁴.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sb. 224, 227.

(2) *Ibid.*, XI, Hk. 56.

(3) *Ibid.*, VII, Hl. 20.

(4) *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XIII

KĒŚAVA DĒVA II.

Kēśava Dēva was the son of Īśvara Dēva III¹ and of his queen Caṭṭalo². We cannot say in paucity of materials when precisely he came to the throne. However, the fact that the latest date of Īśvara Dēva afforded by the epigraphs is A. D. 1222³ and the earliest record of Kēśava Dēva is dated in 1232, may lead us to infer that A. D. 1227-28 was probably the year of his succession.

We possess only one record of Kēśava Dēva's reign. The conflict between the Yādava governors and the Kadambas of Hāṅgal continued in the reign of Kēśava Dēva. But there is every reason to believe that Kēśava Dēva did not follow in his father's foot-steps, in so far as his policy towards the Kadambas was concerned. To obtain an explanation for this change of political affairs, we have to get into touch with the relations of the Yādava governors of Banavāsi-nāḍ with the Sinda chieftains.

We have already noticed that in about A. D. 1216, Māyidēva Daṇṇāyaka was holding the superintendence of Banavāsi-nāḍ⁴. Māyidēva was a notable figure in the galaxy of the Yādava governors. His policy was to bring the Kadambas of Hāṅgal under the suzerainty of Singhaṇa, with the active help of the Sinda chieftain Īśvara Dēva III. But before Māyidēva's efforts were crowned with success, he ceased to hold the office of governorship. The successor of Māyidēva was one Vaṅkarāvuta who is referred to as carrying on the government of Banavāsi in 1222 A. D.⁵ Vaṅkarāvuta seems to have attained considerable success in his attempt to increase the Yādava influence to the south of the

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Hl. 20, 45.

(2) *Ibid.*, 20.

(3) *Ibid.*,

(4) *Ibid.*, 44, 48.

(5) *Ep.*, VII, Hl. 20.

Tuṅgabhadra. That Īśvara Dēva III Sinda was a strenuous supporter of Vaṅka is evidenced by a record of 1222, which states that the *Sindakula* was instrumental for the growth of Simhala's kingdom.¹

The next figure in the galaxy of the Yādava governors was Honna Bommi Śetti. He is mentioned as holding the superintendence of Banavāsi-nāḍ in 1232 A. D.² It seems that Honna Bommi Śetti was not at all popular with the Sinda chieftain Kēśava Dēva. As a matter of fact, the governor was so much hated by Kēśava Dēva that we have it on record that one day he marched upon Honni Bommi Śetti.³ We are told that when Honna Bomma in anger came with a large army and horse-men to drive out the Sindas, the Sinda general Bamma, in accordance with Kēśava Dēva's orders, attacked him and slew "the whole of the boasting enemy's force".⁴ It was this hostility that made Kēśava Dēva to change his policy towards the Yādavas and consequently towards the Kadambas. It is quite probable that Kēśava Dēva, having freed himself from the Yādava yoke, joined hands with the Kadamba king Mallidēva in the latter's attempt to maintain his independence. This inference is supported by the fact that the successor of Kēśava Dēva was an independent king fighting against the Yādavas, and that the Hāṅgal King Mallidēva did not accept the suzerainty of the Yādavas till 1239⁵, the probable year of Kēśava Dēva's death.

We said above that we possess only one record of this king. From this it is also possible to deduce that his reign was a short one. He seems to have ruled for a period of ten years, that is, from 1228 A. D. to about 1238. Nevertheless, this short reign is remarkable in as much as it threw off the Yādava allegiance and declared independence.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Hl. 20.

(2) *Ibid.*, 43.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.* VIII, Sb. 319.

CHAPTER XIV.

BĪRA DĒVA.

Bīra Dēva, also known as Harabīra, was probably the son of Kēśava Dēva. He ascended the throne in about 1239 A. D., and continued the struggle with the Yādavas which his predecessor had begun. His reign, therefore, was full of wars. Consequently, all the five records we possess of him are *viragals*.

Bīra Dēva was an unfortunate prince. The year of his succession witnessed an important political event which had a bad effect on the Belgutti kingdom. That year marks the final submission of the Hāngal Kadamba king Mallidēva to the Yādavas.¹ A *viragal* of 1239 records that Singhaṇa-Dēva's (Singhaṇa's) *Nāyakas* came with 30,000 horse and captured the hill fortress of Gutti, burnt the *nāḷ*, "and marched along with their booty openly displayed".² We have already seen in the last chapter that Mallidēva Kadamba and Kēśava Dēva Sinda had formed an alliance against the Yādavas. Mallidēva having yielded to the Yādavas, Bīra-dēva the successor of Kēśava Dēva, was forced to fight single-handed against the army of Singhaṇa in order to maintain his independence.

Hostilities, however, broke out early in 1244 A. D., A *viragal* of this year refers to the battle that was fought between Bīra Dēva and a certain Lakhanapāla on the plains of Haṭṭivūr.³ Lakhanapāla seems to be the same person called Lakṣmipāla, who is mentioned as an officer of Singhaṇa Dēva in a Sorab inscription of 1242.⁴ The events of this battle are described in the *viragal*. It records: "When...Bīra Dēvarasa was in Belagavatti, ruling the

(1) *Fleet Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 523; *Moraes, Kadamba Kula*, p. 151.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sb. 319.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Hl. 49.

(4) *Ibid.*, VIII, Sb. 425.

kingdom with his strong arm—Lakhanapāla Kalidēva having raided,—in the battle of Haṭṭivūr, when the angry Lakhanapāla's horsemen were charging and his army like a roaring ocean were coming on, seeing the terrified king and his chieftains preparing to go forth with an ocean of army to meet them, he attacked the (enemy's) force beforehand, and driving them back, slew many in an astounding manner,—Aicuga". Then follows a graphic description of the battle-field. It is said that the mighty brave Aicuga fell upon the horses and the army like a thunderbolt, and throwing them down, slew the force. It may, however, be concluded that Bīra Dēva was able to repulse the enemy, though Aicuga lost his life in the attempt.

The Yādavas returned with a larger force the next year. We are told that Bīra Dēva was in the residence of Kallise, instead of being in Belagavarti, when the rival army invaded the country. The Yādava force was led by two great generals of Singhaṇa, namely, Bappula and Śrīdhara Daṇṇāyaka. It is said that the former, with all his officers and battle array, having besieged Kūḍali, the latter joined him in the fight. That Śrīdhara Daṇṇāyaka had a large force at his command is evidenced by the fact that he is described as "the great minister, master over seventy-two officials, master of all wealth, collector of Sēvuṇa's battle array". Kūḍali was apparently a fort of great strategical importance, commanding the road to Belagavarti. It was situated on the confluence of the rivers Tuṅgā and Bhadrā, and was of considerable strength on account of its being surrounded by the waters of these two rivers. The *viragat* states that a certain Babbara-bāha Bamna of Sētu on the Sindā side, "piercing and cutting down with one stroke," fought bravely displaying his valour. The record is silent as to the result of this war. But it is quite likely that the Yādavas succeeded on this occasion:

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Hl. 54.(2) *Ibid*

A later inscription of 1947 A. D., which represents Bira Dēva as still fighting the Yādavas on the plains of Nēmaṭṭi¹, pointedly indicates that the latter were successful in reaching that town which was only about five miles from Belgutti on the road to Kūḍali.

After reducing the fort of Kūḍali in 1245, the Yādava army marched against the Sinda capital. But it was not so easy a task to reach it, as the Sinda force was giving battle on almost every place of strategical importance. One of these battles is recorded in a *vīraḡal* of 1146 A. D.² It was fought between Dēkarasa and the ministers Meḍimaya and Śrīdhara. In A. D. 1147 the Yādavas, however, reached the famous town of Nēmaṭṭi where ensued the last great fight between the Sindas and the Yādavas.³ We are told that Bira Dēva now called all his subordinates to his court and held an assembly of the "braves". When they were thus deliberating as to what was to be done, the Paṭṭasāhaṇi Gaṅgēya Sāhaṇi's son-in-law Ēcaya, says the *vīraḡal*, gave his word as follows: "When the enemy's army, with all the forces, comes and attacks with fury, so that the royal inspectors are taken prisoners with my dagger stabbing choice horses and notable chiefs, I will throw the enemy's army into confusion." In consequence of this pledge, he was presented with the umbrella which was the stake.

The Sinda generals, namely, Dēkarasa and Cēlaṅgi Bīraya Nāyaka, with all their forces united, advanced into the plain of Nēmaṭṭi. On hearing this, the great Yādava minister Meḍimaya Nāyaka and Śrīdhara Dēva marched forth with all the attendants of the line in Koppalu, and attacking them, drove them back. "Then the enemy's force, getting mixed up with the force collected on the field, attacked them so that they had no time to cook". Thereupon, says the composer, "What can say of him who gave such a novel promise to Birarasa?—The host at

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, H1, 55.

(2) *Ibid.*, 58.

(3) *Ibid.*, 55.

that moment, like a last deluge, like a last fire, like Kāmāri's fury, being chased and fleeing, Ēcaga stood, and as he had said, "A slaughter of the enemy with this dagger will I make," so he did. Many he gashed and tore to pieces, many he split and cut into pieces, many he seized alive by the head, the brave Ēciga of a dagger, the hero in war. Choice horses and noted chiefs he stabbed, and distinguished himself, as the ruin of flowers was falling upon him, he gained *sagga* (heaven')".

The *vīragal*, of course, does not claim victory, though it highly extols the bravery of Ēciga. However, there is every reason to believe that the Sindas were completely crushed and that Bīra Dēva who was in charge of a reserve force, descending to the battle-field, was slain. For we have no mention of Bīra Dēva in later records. What ultimately became of the Belgutti Sindas does not appear. The conquest and death of Bīra Dēva closes the last chapter in the history of the Belgutti House. But certain descendants of the Sinda line appear to have been holding offices in the Government in parts of the Śimoga District till the end of the first quarter of the fourteenth century.²

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Hl. 55.

(2) *Ibid.*, VIII, Sb. 209, 291, 295.

CHAPTER XV

LAST TRACES OF BELGUTTI SINDAS

The dynasty of the Sindas of Belgutti practically ended with Bīra Dēva. After his death which occurred in about A. D. 1247, the kingdom passed over to the Yādavas. For a period of about forty years after 1247, no epigraphic record throwing any light on the history of the Sindas has as yet come to notice. But a Sorab inscription, dated in 1289 A. D., informs us that a scion of the Sinda family by name Madhukarayya was holding the office of *Nāl-prabhu* under the Yādava king Rāmadēva Rāya (Rāmcandra), who is here styled "*Yādava Nārāyaṇa, the Bhujabala-prauḍha-pratāpa-cakravartī*".¹ From this it is apparent that the Sindas had lost their kingdom by the time Madhukarayya took service under Rāmcandra. The fact that Madhukarayya was a direct descendant of the Belgutti line is manifest from his titles "the *Sinda-Gōvinda, Śatagara-gaṇḍa, Pātāla-cakravartī*, born in the Bhujagēndra-vaṁśa". It will be remembered that these titles were first assumed by Īśvara Dēva II, the greatest king of the Belgutti line.

In 1312 we come across another Sinda officer named Kāmayya, who is mentioned with the usual titles of the Belgutti Sindas. After referring to the Yādavas, the inscription begins: "Be it well. When the *Sindhu-Gōvinda, the Pātāla-cakravartī* born in the *Bhujagēndravāṁśa* (with other epithets), the *Nāl-prabhu*, the great *nāga* general, Kāmayya, having attacked Sātēyanahallī, burnt it and carried off the plunder. Tanikapādala Bommayya attacking them, slew Kāmayya's brother-in-law, many men and horses, and distinguishing himself, gained the world of Gods".²

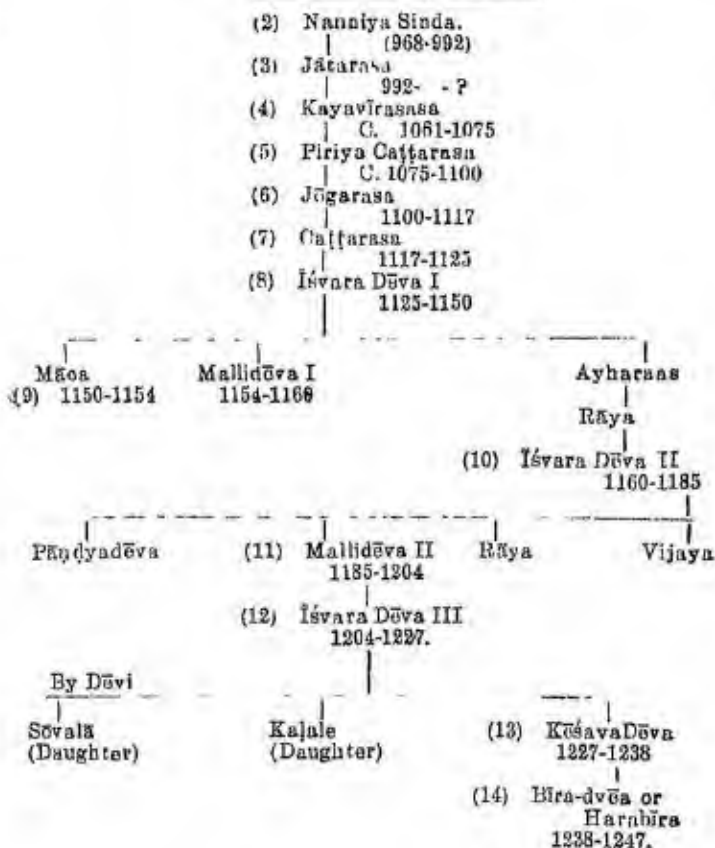
(1) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sb. 209.

(2) *Ibid.*, 295.

It may be inferred from the above extract that Kāmayya was holding the responsible military post of a general, besides the administrative office of a *Nāṭprabhu*. The attack on Sātēyanahalli was perhaps a raid against the Hoysaṣa territory. For records tell us that the conflict that broke out in 1305 between the Yādavas and the Hoysaṣas continued for some years.¹

We have no more information about the descendants of the Belgutti family.

- (1) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, 8a. 156., *Mys. Arch. Report*, 1912
Para 73, and 1913, Para 85.

The Sindas of Belgutti.

Note :—Figure in the bracket denotes the number of the chapter.

PART II
THE SINDAS OF YELBURGĀ



CHAPTER I

EARLY HISTORY OF SINDAVĀḌĪ

The districts of Kisukāḍu Seventy, the Kālavāḍi Three-hundred, the Bāgaḍage Seventy and the Nareyamgal Twelve were collectively called the Sindavāḍi-nāḍ. The name means "the country of the Sindas". It is true that the territory held by the Kurugōḍ Sindas in Bellāry District was also known by the same name. As we are here concerned only with that part of the country under the Yelburgā Sindas, we conveniently identify it with the kingdom of the Yelburgā dynasty for our present purpose.

Of the four districts making Sindavāḍi, Kisukāḍu Seventy is the most important, so far as its early history is concerned. The ancient capital of this district was the town of Kisuvoḷal or Paṭṭadakisuvoḷal, the existence of which under the name of Kisuvoḷal is carried back to A.D. 602, when it was only an ordinary village.¹ The ancient temples and inscriptions of Paṭṭadakal prove it to have been a place of great consequence. In fact, it was the seat of administration for a period of many centuries upto the time when the Yelburgā Sindas founded Erambarage.

The early history of Sindavāḍi is almost identical with that of the Kisukāḍu Seventy and the Bāgaḍage Seventy, which later on formed the most prominent districts of the Sinda kingdom. The existence of these two districts under their names and as Seventy districts is carried back to about A.D. 910 when they were under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rule. We are told that Kīṣṇa II, who reigned between A.D. 878 and 912, gave the Kisukāḍu Seventy and the Bāge (Bāgaḍage) Seventy, along with the Puligere Three-hundred and the Beḷvola Three-hundred, to the Western Ganga prince Būtuḡa

(1) *Ind. Ant.*, XIX., p. 20.

II, as a dowry of his wife Rēvakanimmadi, the eldest sister of Kṛṣṇa III¹. And in about A. D. 950, Kṛṣṇa III confirmed Bātuga in the possession of the above mentioned four districts and also gave him the Banavāsi Twelve-thousand as a reward for killing the Cōla king Rājāditya.² In A. D. 997 Kisukāḍu was in the administrative charge of the *Mahā-sāmanta* Tailapanankakāra under the Western Cālukya king Taila II³; and the same person was still holding it in A. D. 1005 under Irvabedānga Satyāśraya.⁴ During the first half of the eleventh century, it was administered along with some neighbouring districts by the famous princess Akkāḍēvi, first under her elder brother Vikramāditya V,⁵ then under her younger brother Jayaśimha II⁶ and lastly under Sōmēśvara I.⁷ It was in the reign of Vikramāditya the great that the Sindas of Yelburgā extended their influence, and accordingly came to be the masters of that part of Kuntala, which consequently assumed the name of Sindavāḍi-nāḍ.

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, IV, pp. 351-354.

(2) *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 53, 57.

(3) Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 186; *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 254.

(4) *Ind. Ant.*, XXX, p. 265.

(5) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 76.

(6) *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 275.

(7) Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 204.

CHAPTER. II

BEGINNINGS OF THE DYNASTY

The Velburgā branch is not only the most important branch of the Sindu race, but also a very prominent dynasty among the *Mahāmāyālaśvaras* of ancient Dekkan. But as to the origin of this dynasty, we have no information in the inscriptions of the Velburgā family. The geneological list commences very abruptly with seven brothers, namely, Ācugi I, Nāka, Siṅga I, Dāsa, Dāma, Cāvunḍa I and Cāva, the name of whose father is not stated. The records give no hint of the mythological origin or of the hereditary title and insignia of their family. Thus we are not in a position to say anything definitely as to the beginnings of this renowned dynasty.

Nevertheless, some interesting information of the Sindus of Bāgaḍage (modern Bāgalkōṭ)¹ is furnished by a stone inscription at Bhairanamatṭi in the Bāgalkōṭ Tālukā of the Bijāpur District.² As the hereditary territory of the Velburgā Sindus included Bāgaḍage Seventy among other districts and as the Bāgaḍage Sindus ruled prior to the Velburgā Sindus, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the later dynasty took its origin from the former.

(1) As to the identification of Bāgaḍage with modern Bāgalkōṭ, Dr Fleet writes:—"Bāgaḍage Seventy is plainly identical with Bāgalkōṭ in Bijāpur. I have only recently obtained the means of localising precisely the position of this district, and of determining the town from which it took its name. That town is Bāgalkōṭ in the Bijāpur District. It had long been known to me that the rustics call this place "Bāgaḍikōṭe," the popular explanation of which is that some Nawāb assigned it to his wife for pin money (lit. for bangles, *bāṅgaḍi*). And I have a suspicion, but no more, that it might be the ancient Bagaḍage or Bāgaḍige. All doubt has now been removed by my examination of an inscription on a stone which stands in the court yard of the Tālukā Kachōri at Bāgalkōṭ, and was brought I understand from the neighbouring village of Kōrkā, and which mentions "the famous capital, Bāgaḍageya-kōṭe." *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 170.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 230.

The record refers first to the reign of the Western Cālukya king Taila II and to the year A. D. 990 when, it says, there was a Sinda prince named Pulikāḷa, belonging to the family of the serpents.¹ It then proceeds to give Pulikāḷa's geneology. After describing the origin of the Sinda race, the record seems to state that thirty-one princes in succession ruled Bāgaḍage District and that then there was born a famous prince named Sinda. His descendant was a certain Kammara or Kammayyarasa who was ruling Bāgaḍage Seventy. This Kammara was the father of Pulikāḷa who has the date in A. D. 990. The son of Pulikāḷa was the Mahāsāmanta Nāgāditya who is described as an ornament of the family of the serpents, "lord of Bhōgāvati, the best of towns," lord of the banner of the hooded serpents Ananta and Vāsuki and Takṣaka, a very Kāmadēva with his tiger-crest, an ornament of the Sinda family. Nāgāditya was ruling as a distinguished feudatory of the Western Cālukya King Jayasimha II who reigned from A. D. 1018 to 1042. The record furnishes for Nāgāditya the date of the *Śaṅkasamvat* 255 corresponding to A. D. 1033-34.

Nāgāditya is recorded to have granted to a priest a field measuring one thousand *maṭṭas* by the measuring rod of Paṭṭiya-Maṭṭaūra, (modern Haṭṭi-Mattūr in the Karajgi Talukā of the Dhārwar District), which implies that the village Haṭṭi-Mattūr was in his kingdom. This would naturally have us believe that Nāgāditya was a powerful feudatory who was able to extend his territory beyond the limits of Bāgaḍage. It is quite probable that he was the founder of the Yelburgā branch. We know from the same record at Bhairanamaṭṭi that Nāgāditya had a son called Polasinda by his wife Poleyabbe-arasi. Polasinda's son Śēvya was the contemporary of the Cālukya king Sōmēśvara II who ruled from 1069 to 1076. It is thus apparent that

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, III, pp. 234-35.

Polasinda lived circa 1050 A. D. The seven brothers, who are the earliest known members of the Yelburgā branch, also lived about the middle of the eleventh century, as we shall presently see in the following chapters.

From the above facts it can be presumed that Nāgāditya was also the father of those seven brothers. It may be that he had a second wife, the senior queen being Polcyabbarasi, the mother of Polasinda. If it is so, it is again probable that by his younger wife he had Ācugi I and his six brothers. Nāgāditya must have naturally appointed Polasinda as the *Yuvārāja* and instructed him to rule only the ancestral district of Bāgaḍage. The non-hereditary portions which seem to have been acquired by Nāgāditya himself were perhaps handed over to Ācugi and his brothers. The non-hereditary territory thus entrusted to the charge of the seven brothers was undoubtedly the original kingdom of the Yelburgā Sindas. It is thus plain that, though the first ruler of the Yelburgā Sindas was Ācugi I, the originator of the dynasty was *Mahāsāmanta* Nāgāditya, the illustrious king of the Bāgaḍage family.

CHAPTER III.

ĀCUGI I.

The earliest king of the Yelburgā branch, of whom we have some definite historical information, is Ācugi I or Ācugidēva or Āca. He was not the founder of the dynasty. By the time he ascended the throne, the Sindas of Yelburgā must have firmly established themselves as a ruling family. For the Puṭṭadukal inscription clearly states that Ācugi was possessed of stability equal to that of the mountain Mandāra.¹

Ācugi appears to have been a great soldier. Born in the powerful Sinda race, "he possessed of an arm that was very violent in conquering the hostile rulers of the earth".² Nevertheless, it will be remembered that he was not an independent emperor who could successfully wage wars with the "rulers of the earth". What the inscription means is that he, being a faithful and powerful feudatory of the Cālukyas, was a pillar of strength, ever ready to fight for the Cālukyan supremacy. "Being of unequalled courage, he attained in the very presence of the Cālukyan king the pinnacle of greatness among those who sound the trumpet of their firm determination".³

The records describe him as a chieftain of outstanding ability. He was "the foremost of rising warriors", says the Narāgal inscription, "and the most excellent of chieftains, performing achievements that enhanced the glory and the prosperity of the Sinda race".⁴ Another epigraph calls him a glorious king who was esteemed the glory of the *Sindakula*,

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindarāma Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 269.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 233.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

“who broke down the courage of the hostile chieftains, who was a very Purandhara in respect of his might and who was possessed of unequalled prowess,” which may be taken to imply that he was not in the least inferior to other *Mahā-maṇḍalēśvaras* of his time.

Ācugi is described in the Narēgal inscription above referred to as “acquainted with many accomplishments” (*nānākulākovidan*).

There is no further mention of this ruler in the Sinda records. It is possible that when he died his son Bamma was an infant. For we are told that after Ācugi's death, his brothers were looking after the administration of the kingdom¹.

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sinhasena Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI p. 262.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 233.

CHAPTER IV.

CĀVUNḌA AND HIS BROTHERS.

The younger brothers of Ācugi I were king Nāka, king Singa, king Dāsa, king Dāva or Dāma, king Cāvunḍa and king Cāva "who were resplendent, being eminent in respect of their good qualities".¹ Among these brothers, king Cāvunḍa, though the fourth, was undoubtedly the most distinguished. The record states that he was impetuous in war. The might of his arm excelled in causing fear to all his enemies. He was the abode of the goddess of fame.

We have no evidence to show that Cāvunḍa or any of his brothers actually reigned as crowned kings. It is true that they are all called *nṛpas* (kings), which only implies that they were the members of the royal family.² As kingship was hereditary, none of the brothers seems to have succeeded Ācugi. The real successor to the throne was Bamma, the son of Ācugi. It is possible that Bamma was only a minor, as suggested in the last chapter, when his father died.

Cāvunḍa and his brothers appear to have been acting as regents to their nephew. They must have discharged their trust faithfully and efficiently, as the records testify to their military ability. King Nāka, says the Paṭṭadakal inscription, was a very wielder of the thunderbolts towards the mountains which were the arrogant and brave hostile kings.³

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Śiṅḍavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. A. S., XI, p. 233.

(2) This practice is still prevalent in the Karnāṭaka. For example, not only the members of the royal family of Mysore, but also the members of that ruling community are all called by the designation *arasa* or king.

(3) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Śiṅḍavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. A. S., XI p. 269.

Similarly, king Śimha and king Dāsa are described as abounded with the valour of fierce demeanour.¹

Of Dāva or Dāma we have no information beyond the bare mention of his name. This would perhaps explain that he was not taking any active part in the government of the country.

We are informed that king Cāva earned the name Cārudatta for his unbounded liberality.² This Cārudatta was perhaps the character of this name in the drama of *Mṛcāhakaṭika*. It is not unreasonable to suppose, in this connection, that the play was so popularly known in those days that Cārudatta perhaps became a proverbial name.

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Śindavaṃśa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 269.

(2) *Ibid.*

CHAPTER V

BAMMA

Bamma was the son and successor of Ācugi I. The Pattadakal inscription tells us that he received wealthy presents from his emperor whose name is not disclosed.¹ Nevertheless, we learn from the Nidagundi inscription that king Singa the brother of Bamma and the Cālukya emperor Sōmēśvara II were contemporaries.² This statement further seems to imply that Bamma was the feudatory of Sōmēśvara II who reigned from 1069 to 1076 A. D. or of his predecessor.

It is clear from the lithic records that Bamma was as distinguished a ruler as his father had been. The Narēgal inscription pays a high tribute to his kingly qualities. King Bamma, says the epigraph, "was glorious, becoming through the might of his arm the favourite of the lovely woman Absolute Sovereignty, being preeminent among kings who are formidable in battle".³

Bamma was not only a brave warrior but also a patron of learning and literature. We are informed that he, being a "very ocean of good qualities, was foremost among those who had acquired as an ornament of their ears the commendations of learned men".⁴

It is quite possible that Bamma died without an heir, for he was succeeded by his brother Singa II.

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 160.

(2) Fleet, *Kanarase Dynasties*, p. 574.

(3) Fleet, O. C. XI, p. 233.

(4) *Ibid.*

CHAPTER VI

SINGA II

Bamma was succeeded by his brother Singa.¹ At Niḍagundī in the Roṇ Tālukā of Dhārwar District, there is an inscription which mentions a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Singaṇa who, in the month of Bhādrapada (August-September) falling in A. D. 1076, was ruling the Kisukāḍu Seventy as a feudatory of the Western Cālukya king Sōmēśvara II.² This person Singaṇa, according to Dr. Fleet, was the same as Singa II of the Sinda dynasty.³

Among the contemporary *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* of Bamma, mention may be made of the Raṭṭa chieftain Kannaḱaira II (1069 to 1087 A. D.), of Jayakēśi I (1050-1080 A. D.) the Kadamba king of Gōā, of Śāntivarman II (1073-1089 A.D.) the Kadamba king of Hāṅgul, of Vinayāditya Tribhuvanamalla Hoysaḷa (A. D. 1047-1100) and of the Pāṇḍya chieftain Palamāṇḍa Pāṇḍya of Uccangi (1076).

There is no further mention of this ruler in the Sinda records. Singa was evidently the last king to rule over the small territory called the Kisukāḍu Seventy, which in the reign of his successor expanded into a wider kingdom.

In this connection, we have to make a few remarks about the Kisukāḍu Seventy district. It was a small territory of which the chief town was Paṭṭada Kisuvoḷal in the Bādāmi Tālukā of the Bijāpur District. In respect of the history of that Seventy division, the existence of the district under the name Kisukāḍu and

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI. p. 269.

(2) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 574.

(3) *Ibid.*

as a Seventy district is carried back to about A. D. 949-50 by a stone-record at Ātakūra¹. That record tells us that the Rāstrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III gave the Kisukādu Seventy, along with other districts, to the western Ganga prince Būtuga II as a reward for killing the Cōla king Rājāditya.

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, IV, pp. 53, 57.

CHAPTER VII.

ĀCUGI II.

Ācugi II, the illustrious son of Singa II¹, ascended the throne when the great Cālukyan emperor Vikrama was ruling from Kalyāṇa. Ācugi's name also appears in the forms of Āca, Āci and Ācama. Ācugi is the most powerful and renowned member of the Yelburbā Sinda family. It is evident from the inscriptions that the power of the Yelburgā Sindas reached the pinnacle of its greatness during the reign of this glorious monarch. The records speak of him as the trusted feudatory of Vikramāditya VI². The inscriptions further show that he was a powerful defender of the Cālukyan Empire.

The Narēgal lithic record of Permāḍidēva II describes Ācugi as the abode of merit.³ He "was possessed of an acquaintance with the science of arms that was renowned in the world". He is called the best of chieftains.

Ācugi II will be ever remembered in the history of South India as the saviour of the Cālukyan Empire, which at the close of the glorious rule of Vikramāditya VI was attacked by the Hoysalas from the south, by the Gōḍa Kādāmbas from the west, by the Karāḍa Sīlāhāras from the north and by the Uccangi Pāṇḍyas from the east. It was only through the instrumentality of Ācugi that the emperor Vikrama was able to hold these refractory Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras in check.

The Narēgal inscription above referred to says that at the command of the "Universal Emperor Vikrama", Ācugi—a very lion in war, shining like the hot-rayed sun and sound,

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Śiṇḍavamsa Chieftains*
J.B.B.R.A.S., XI, p. 269.

(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 234, 244, 251, 269.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 233.

ing his war-cry, pursued and prevailed against Poysaḷa, took Gōve, put to flight Lakṣma in war, valorously followed after Pāṇḍya, and seized upon the Koṅkaṇa¹. The same thing is repeated in another epigraph from the same place². The records also state that he gave Gōve and Uppinakaṭṭe to the flames.³

The Hoysaḷa king repulsed by Ācugi was undoubtedly Viṣṇuvardhana who ruled from about A.D. 1107 to 1137. An inscription from Gadag tells us that in about 1117 A.D., the Hoysaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana invaded Uccangi and the Belavola country, and carried his arms successfully so far to the north as to bathe his horse in the waters of the Kṛṣṇavarṇā, that is, the river Kṛṣṇā.⁴ To quote the inscription, "Commencing from his own abode, and invading the whole earth as far as Belvola, he washed his horse in the Kṛṣṇavarṇā". According to another epigraph, the Hoysaḷas, under the immediate leadership of a *Daṇḍanāyaka* named Gangarāja, claimed to have inflicted a serious disaster in a night attack on the army of Vikramāditya VI when it was encamped at Kannēgaḷa.⁵ The Gadag inscription above referred to adds that, recognising that among all princes the Hoysaḷa was the most impracticable to deal with, the Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI treated Viṣṇuvardhana with just the same respectful behaviour as Viṣṇuvardhana displayed towards him. When the Hoysaḷa thus carried his arms as far as the Kṛṣṇā, he seems to have been in conflict with the Sinda chief the brave Ācugi.

The Hoysaḷa expedition does not seem to have been quite as much successful as the records of his own family claim. For we have already seen how the loyal feudatory

(1) *Fleet, Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J.B.B.R.A.S., XI, p. 234.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 244.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 269.

(4) *Ind. Ant.*, II, p. 307.

(5) *Ep. Car.*, II, No. 73.

Ācugi pursued and prevailed against the refractory Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara. The defeat of Viṣṇuvardhana at the hands of Ācugi must have naturally enhanced the reputation and influence of the Sinda prince even beyond the boundaries of the empire.

The Hoysala invasion was a signal for the ambitious Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras of Vikramāditya VI to rise in revolt against their emperor and to throw off the Cālukyan yoke. Accordingly, many of the subordinate chiefs took advantage of this political disturbance to proclaim themselves as independent monarchs in their own kingdoms. The Gōā Kadamba king Jayakēśi II seems to have aimed at a higher position and styled himself the "*Konkaṇa Cakravartī*" or the Emperor of the Konkan.¹

This proclamation of Kadamba independence did not last long. After defeating the Hoysalas, Ācugi, at the command of the emperor, took Gōve, gave Uppinakatte to the flames and seized upon the Konkaṇa². From this it is evident that the Gōā king defeated by Ācugi was Jayakēśi II, the greatest monarch of the dynasty. Thus the punitive attempts of Jayakēśi to establish his independence ended in a dismal failure owing to the timely help rendered by the loyal feudatory chieftain Ācugi.

Uppinakatte, which Ācugi gave to the flames, can be identified with the modern Sāṇikaṭṭe in the Kumtā Tāluka of the North Kanarā District, which was then included in the domain of Jayakēśi. The term "*Uppu*" in Kannaḍa means salt, and the term "Uppinakatte" means the place where salt is being manufactured. The fact that modern Sāṇikaṭṭe is the biggest salt manufacturing centre in the whole of Karnāṭaka further corroborates our statement regarding the identification of this place.

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sinlavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 300.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 269.

The Pāṇḍya king whom Ācugi caused to retreat seems to be the Uccangi Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya who had the name Iṟukkavēla. He was ruling the Nōḷambavāḍi province under Vikramāditya from about A. D. 1090 to 1124.¹ The Sinda inscription recording the retreat of the Pāṇḍya king would have us believe that Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya took advantage of the Hoysala invasion to raise disturbances in his own kingdom. But the Pāṇḍya records, on the other hand, describe Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya as a faithful feudatory who is said to be the rod in Vikrama's right hand.² The Dīvanagere inscription tells us that he brought the whole earth under the suzerainty of king Vikrama.³ Nevertheless, it will be wrong to suppose that the Pāṇḍya chief did not rise in revolt against his emperor. Vikramāditya VI was a great diplomat. Immediately after the Pāṇḍya disturbances were quelled by Ācugi Sinda, Vikrama must have proceeded leniently with the Uccangi feudatory. Thus the differences between them were very soon and permanently made up. Hence the Pāṇḍya chieftain is described as a loyal feudatory. The reason for this seems to be that Vikramāditya bore genuine admiration for the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras who were noble and warlike. It was also a stroke of diplomacy on the part of the emperor. He was then in need of loyal feudatories, especially in the Bellāry District, to assist him against the rising power of the Hoysalas. This diplomatic policy of Vikrama is made clear on more than one occasion. For instance, when the Gōṣa Kudamba chieftain Jayakēśi II was defeated in his attempt to declare independence, Vikramāditya not only proceeded leniently with him, but further strengthened his alliance by marrying his daughter to Jayakēśi.⁴ Ācugi, by

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg., 155.

(2) *Ibid.* 139, 90.

(3) *Ibid.*, XI, Dg., 3.

(4) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 311.

defeating the Pāṇḍyas, once again laid Vikrama under a deep debt of obligation.

The Paṭṭadakal inscription of Cāvuṇḍa II informs us that Ācugi repulsed a certain Bhōja who invaded his territory with a big army.¹ This Bhōja must be Bhōja I of the family of the Silāhāras of Karād, whose date according to Dr. Fleet was shortly before A. D. 1110².

In recognition of his great conquests and in appreciation of his ycoman services, Ācugi II was styled *Tribhuvanamalla Kēśarin* or the "lion of Tribhuvanamalladēva"³ These conquests of Ācugi naturally secured for him a paramount influence among the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras of the Dekkan. Ācugi is also called by the title of *Malavaramāri*⁴, which means the slayer of the Malavas. The Malavas were the people living in the wooded country lying on the Western Ghats.

Ācugi is described as a "very handmill for grinding the wheat which was the race of Jaggu" and as the conqueror of the lion of Hallakavaḍike⁵. The name Jaggu cannot be identified in paucity of materials. Hallakavaḍike seems to be the same as the Kāvaḍi-dvīpa,⁶ which was then in the possession of the Gōḷa Kadamba chieftain Jayakēśi II.⁷ This

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindhanamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. U. A. S., XI, p. 262.

(2) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 574.

(3) Fleet, O. C., p. 247.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 234.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 243.

(6) The records of the Silāhāras show that the hereditary kingdom of the Northern Silāhāras comprised the island of Salsette to the north of Bombay, and the adjoining territory commonly known as Kavaḍi-dvīpa or Kapardikādvīpa; while that of the Southern Silāhāras consisted of the Konkan Nine Hundred, namely, the major portion of the present territory of Gōḷa and the Irīdige country, which probably included the Sēvantavūḍi State and the Ratnāgiri district. Cf. Fleet, *Kan Dyns*, p. 538.

(7) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 323.

statement in the inscription repeats in different words the fact of Jayakēśi's defeat at the hands of Ācugi II.

The Paṭṭadakal inscription of Cāvunḍa II states that Ācugi made the kings of Kalinga, Vanga, Māru, Gurjjara, Mālavā, Cēra and Cōḷa subject to his sovereign, so that he might say to them, with such a command as is used in the case of those who are subject to compulsory and unpaid labour, "Walk on, O Slave!" "In Ācugi's surpassing brilliance", continues the epigraph, "they were all burnt up, so that not one king's town remained to be enumerated in the districts of Kalinga and Vanga". These successes beyond the boundaries of the Cālukyan empire attributed to Ācugi seem to be fancies and not realities. For instance, it is impossible that he could completely annihilate the kings of Vanga. Nevertheless, there is every reason to believe that Ācugi was employed as a general of Vikramāditya on some of these distant expeditions. If so, it will not be unreasonable to suppose that Ācugi led expeditions against the kings of Mālavā and Gurjjara. Records speak of Vikramāditya crossing the Narmadā and conquering kings on the other side of the river.²

Ācugi's government included the Kisukāḍu Seventy, the Nareyangal Twelve, the Kāḷavāḍi Three-hundred and the Bāgaḍage Seventy³, the last of which we also find in the possession of his son Peruvāḷidēva towards the close of the reign of Vikramāditya¹. These provinces, except the hereditary territory of Kisukāḍu Seventy, must have been acquired in the conquests achieved by Ācugi. The extent of his kingdom will be brought home to the reader

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Śiṅḍavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 269.

(2) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 452.

(3) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Śiṅḍavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 251.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 236.

when we give the modern names of these ancient provinces that comprised his kingdom.

The Kisukāḍu Seventy. The country lying round Kisuvolal or Paṭṭada Kisuvolal, which is the modern Paṭṭadakal in the Bādāmi Tālukā of the Bijāpur District.

The Kēṭavāḍi Three-hundred. This evidently took its appellation from the ancient name, differing slightly from the modern name of the present Kalavaḍi, Kolvaḍi, or Kelōḍi, about 10 miles to the north of Bādāmi.

The Bāgaṭage or Bāgaṭige Seventy. The country lying round the modern Bāgalkōṭ, the chief town of the Bāgalkōṭ Tālukā of the Bijāpur District.

Narayangal Twelve. This was a group of villages, included in the Beṭvola Three-hundred, of which the chief town was the modern Narāgal in the Rōṇ Tālukā of the Dhārwar District.

All these districts were collectively called Sindavāḍi-Nād.

Inscriptions also tell us that Ācugi II took many forts, resisted those who defied with pride, attacked and pursued kings and took possession of their territories.¹ He is described as the mightiest of chieftains of his time and as a very *Gaṇḍabhīruṇḍa*² to hostile chieftains.³

That Ācugi was a great soldier is manifest from his wonderful conquests described above. Being resolute in war, he was "first of warriors and kings" and naturally had "the odour of musk"⁴. He "was endowed with surpassing

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. R. A. S., XI, pp. 234, 243, 244.

(2) A fabulous bird with two heads which preys on the flesh of elephants.

(3) Fleet, C. C., p. 250.

(4) *Ibid.*

courage." ¹ "How shall we liken the arrogant crowds of chieftains to king Āca", asks the Paṭṭadakal inscription.

Ācugi is described as a great chieftain who attained the honour of the *Pañcamahāśabda*.² It is interesting to note that this *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvarīya* privilege of being authorised to be heralded with the five musical instruments is for the first time conferred on the Sinda ruler of the Yelburgā branch, a fact which further explains that Ācugi, by his strength, courage and wisdom, raised the Yelburgā dynasty to the position of a first class feudatory power in the Karnāṭaka.

Ācugi was a wise administrator who peacefully governed his newly acquired territories. He was a man of exceptional ability and was responsible for the peace and prosperity that flourished in his kingdom. The records make special mention of his administrative qualities. It is said that he was a very jewelled mirror for the embellishment of the lovely woman the art of government, a *Jimūṭavāhana* in the quality of all-embracing compassion, and a very Brahma in respect of the multitude of his acquirements.³ He is recorded to have governed wisely and made the people happy.⁴ In another epigraph, he is described as the beloved of the lovely woman Fortune, the abiding place of all happiness.⁵ He is said to be a mine of truth⁶ and governing his kingdom with punishment to the wicked and protection to the good.⁷

(1) *Fleet, Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XII, p. 269.

(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 243 and 250.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 243.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 234.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 250.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 251.

Ācugi also appears to have been a patron of letters. We are told that he took great delight in supporting literary men.¹

The Koḍikoppa grant of Ācugi refers to one of his officials named Bamma, who was the superintendent of the Estimates Department. The wealth of this liberal Bamma, says the record, became an ornament to him through the publicity of his charities.² To describe the religious actions performed by this official, it is recorded that he made perpetual grants to temples.³ We are told that he was glorious in being esteemed to be ever more and more the well-known abode of fame and the good and spotless worshipper of Mallēśvara.⁴ Bamma was a great favourite of Ācugi. It is said that the king, regarding him with affection and confirming his acts, gave him whatever he asked for.⁵ This only shows that Ācugi was assisted in his government by faithful and trustworthy officers.

Mahādēvi, the queen of Ācugi, is described as a virtuous wife of spotless conduct, abounding with pious actions.⁶ She "acquired the fame of being called the best among the consorts of such chieftains as are the most excellent in the world".⁷

Ācugi was known to be intent upon the observances of religion.⁸ He is recorded to have made endowments to the Mallēśvara temple of Kiru-nareyangal.⁹

Ācugi II died in about A. D. 1124 and was succeeded by his son Permāḍidēva.

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Śīṇḍavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. D. R. A. S., XI, p. 250.

(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 251-252.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 252.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Ibid.*, pp. 234-235.

(7) *Ibid.*

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 234.

(9) *Ibid.*, p. 251.

CHAPTER VIII.

PERMĀDIDĒVA I.

Permādidēva I, the eldest son of Acuṇi II, succeeded his father as the king of the Sindavādi-māḍi. He probably came to the throne in or about A.D. 1125. The Narēgal inscription describes him as born to Mādēvi and king Acu. ¹ We have four records belonging or purporting to belong to the time of Permāḍi, whose name also appears as Perma, Pemma, Peramardī or Hemmāḍi. The Kōḍikoppa inscription expressly describes him as a feudatory of Permāḍi Jagadēkamalla II and shows that he was consequently called Jagadēkamalla-Permādidēva. ²

Yelburgā, the capital of the Sindas, is mentioned for the first time in the grants of Permāḍi I, who is described in them as ruling the Sindavāḍi province from his capital Rāmbirage, (Erambarige or the modern Yelburgā) with the diversion of joyful conversations³. It is to be noted, in this connection, that Rāmbirage was not the original capital of the dynasty. Paṭṭadakal or Paṭṭadakisuvoḷu, the most ancient town in the Kisukāḍu Seventy district, seems to be the original seat of government. The ancient temples and inscriptions at Paṭṭadakal prove it to have been a place of great consequence from at least the beginning of the seventh century A.D. when it first rose to importance. It was perhaps Permādidēva I who transferred the capital from Paṭṭadakal to Rāmbirage.

Permāḍi was a worthy son of a great father. The records claim that he besieged Caṭṭa and took his head with a

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavani-a Chieftains*, J. B. R. R. A. S., XI, p. 235.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 256.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 236.

sword, alarmed and pursued a certain Jayakēśi, seized upon the royal power of Hoysaḷa who was "the foremost of fierce rulers of the earth", and acquired the reputation of being himself proof against all reverses. Going to the mountain passes of marauder Bittiga, plundering him, besieging Dōrasamudra, and pursuing him till he arrived at and took the city of Bēlupura, king Permāḍi drove him with the help of the sword. Permāḍi is reported to have seized in this war the enemy-soldiers and brought them as captives with decisive cheers.¹

We have seen in the last chapter how Ācugi II inflicted a serious defeat on the Gōḷa Kādamba king Jayakēśi II. Neither Ācugi nor the emperor Vikrama lived long after bringing back Jayakēśi under the Cālukyan supremacy. After their death, Jayakēśi turned to be an aggressor and even attacked the Hāṅgaḷ Five-hundred, as is evident from an inscription which includes this province in his kingdom.² In all probability, Jayakēśi now once more attempted to make himself independent of the Cālukyas. Hence we find that Samēśvara III deputed his faithful feudatory the Sinda chieftain Permāḍideva I with instructions to proceed against Jayakēśi and to bring him back to allegiance to the Cālukyan power. It is thus clear that the king Jayakēśi defeated by Permāḍideva I is no other person than Jayakēśi II, the Kādamba king of Gōḷa. This disaster inflicted upon the Gōḷa king was the first achievement of Permāḍi after he came to the throne.

But the greatest achievement of Permāḍi is undoubtedly his success against the Hoysaḷa king Bittiga or Viṣṇuvardhana who then proved to be a serious menace to the Cālukyan supremacy to the south of the river Tungabhadra. The growing power of Viṣṇuvardhana is evidenced by a Kaḍūr inscription of A.D. 1160, which says that "the lion

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, pp. 244-45.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 323.

of the Hoysala king's valour, having sported in plunder at Talakāḍ, attacked the lofty elephant Uccangi, calmly marched by Banavāsi, with daring seized Beḷvola, and sprang forward with joy to the Perddore (river Kṛṣṇā) unshaken, planting his foot on Hānumgal."¹ This Hoysala invasion, however, caused no lasting injury to the Cālukyan power. The emperor commanded the brave Sinda chieftain Permāḍidēva I to proceed against the powerful king of southern Karnāṭaka. Permāḍi's southern campaigns, as claimed by the records, seem to have been crowned with complete success. For he not only drove the Hoysala back to the south of Tunga-bhadrā, but also went on plundering the country till he besieged Viṣṇuvardhana's capital Dharasamudra itself and took the famous city of Bēlupura.² In this campaign Permāḍi acquired the reputation of being a proof against all reverses.³ It was no small achievement to repulse so powerful a monarch as Viṣṇuvardhana. Permāḍi had to face many difficulties, as is evident from the record which expressly states that he acquired success only after overcoming all the obstacles. Moreover, Viṣṇuvardhana seems to have been assisted by his own feudatories, as the Sinda inscription says that Permāḍi seized in war the friends of kings who joined king Biṭṭiga in his invasion.⁴ Unfortunately, the names of these kings are not mentioned in the record. However, while studying the history of Karnāṭaka, we are made aware of the southern conquests of Viṣṇuvardhana who is reported to have had subjugated some chiefs such as the leader of the Tōḍas and the king of the Kongāḷyas.⁵ We have, therefore every reason to believe that the "kings" who joined Biṭṭiga were none but the above mentioned chiefs.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VI., Kd. 69.

(2) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 244.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ep. Car.*, VI, Ch. 83.

Among the persons defeated by Permāṇi, Kulśekharaṅka and Caṭṭa cannot be identified in the present stage of historical research. It may be that they were generals commanding the armies of Permāṇi's rivals, namely, the Kadambas and the Hoysalas.

We have seen that both Permāṇi I and his father Ācugi were faithful and powerful feudatories who had rendered immense service to their masters, thus protecting the integrity of the Cālukyan empire. It was due to them that the tide of the Hoysala invasion was successfully stopped for a period of two generations. The Hoysala kings first obtained a permanent footing to the north of Tungabhadra only after the downfall of the Cālukyan empire during the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana's grandson Viraballāḥa. It is thus clear, that the two great chieftains of the *Sindavamsa*, namely, Ācugi and Permāṇi were responsible for holding the Hoysalas in check for some time.

The growing influence of the Sindas under Permāṇi's rule is evident by one of his Narēgal grants which proudly says :

"The kings of the Sinda race,—who were the devoted adherents of the Cālukyan family, who were the preceptors of excessively valorous deportment, who were specially fit for war, whose pure and renowned actions were worthy to be praised throughout the world, who were the bravest men on the earth, who were well acquainted with those sciences that should be learned by unrivalled warriors, and who were possessed of fierce courage,—were resplendent."¹

The long reign of Permāṇi was one of internal peace and happiness. There are epigraphical descriptions which give us some idea of the agricultural prosperity of the country in his time. The district of Nareyangal was famous for the cultivation of fruits. "Very lovely is it with its flower-

(1) *Fleet, Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains, J. B. H. R. A. S., XI, p. 233.*

gardens which diffuse many divine odours, with its cool tanks which confer the most exquisite pleasures, with its numberless groves, and with its rice and other juicy grains, the fragrance of which pervades the region."¹

Permādi I like his father was a monarch of outstanding ability. As regards his military strength, we have already seen how he was instrumental in driving out Viṣṇuvardhana to the mountain pass of Vāhadi. "Conquering the cities of his brave foes, vanquishing numbers of kings intoxicated with pride, possessed of many countries acquired by his arm, menacing the fierce dawning night of hostile kings, avoiding that sin which springs from the influence of the *Kali* age, performing great achievements against his enemies whose thunderings were silenced, a very sun to disperse the darkness which was the great chieftains,—such was Permādidēva."² Making indeed due allowance for poetic exaggeration and fancy, we cannot escape the conclusion that Permādi was a military genius. It is said that he was a very Trinētra in the art of destroying forts.³ He was well versed in the science of arms,⁴ and skilled in mounting and training restive horses to perfection.⁵ He always commanded the army in person, and hence the records describe him as the leader of the battlefield.⁶

The Kōdikoppa grant of Permādi would have us believe that in ancient days there were craft and merchant guilds even in small towns like Kīru-nareyangal. We are told that some one thousand sellers of betel leaves and nuts, acting together, gave for the *angabhūga* of the god Śrī Brahmēśvaradēva one *visa* on each load of a beast of burden of betel-leaves of Kīru-nareyangal that had been cut, and two

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Śālavamsa chieftains*, J. B. B. A. S., XI, p. 237.

(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 235 and 244.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 236.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 236.

(5) *Ibid.*, pp. 235, 245.

(6) *Ibid.*, pp. 236, 245.

kāginis on each head-load of betel-leaves. One oil-mill was also set apart for the perpetual lamp of that same god. The guilds of the Ugura Three-hundred and the Eleya-Bhōjagaru Five-hundred-and-four, acting all together, set apart one *papa* on each agriculturist. A merchant corporation of one hundred and four merchants, the chief of whom was the *Uṇṇeya* of Umacige, is also mentioned. All this speaks very well of the commercial prosperity of the Sinda-vāḍi-nāḍ during the reign of Permāḍi I.

Permāḍidēva was quite a tolerant monarch. It is said that he was manifesting his tenderness in making deeds of gift to every religion whenever any religious occasion presented itself¹. He caused to be built a beautiful temple in the southern part of Nareyangaḷ². The family priest of Permāḍidēva was a Kālāmukhi Brāhmaṇa by name Vāmaśakti³. Permāḍi is said to have been taking special care in the act of preserving the ancient faiths⁴. Men wondered at king Permāḍi, says a record, on account of his pious actions which were among other things his pure deeds, his ablutions, his worship of the gods, his sacrifices, the numbers of vows, and the respect paid by him to Brāhmaṇas, to religious preceptors, and to holy men. He himself was acquainted with the sacred writings treating of religion⁵.

Permāḍidēva must have possessed a fine personality, as is evident from the records which describe him as a very Kāmadēva among chieftains⁶. Besides being a military genius, he seems to have been a qualified administrator. Hence the records inform us that he was as conversant as Cāpakya with the many expedients of the art of government⁷. We are also told that Permāḍidēva was a highly accomplished monarch who took great delight in enjoy-

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 236.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 237.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 236.

(4) *Ibid.*, pp. 245 and 235.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 257.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 235.

(7) *Ibid.*, pp. 236 and 245.

ing the sentiments of poetry and singing¹. It is said that he used to hold assemblies "that were made charming by listening to many excellent new poems."² King Permā was a very *kalpa* tree in respect of his liberality to panegyrists, says the Paṭṭadakaḷ inscription³. Another epigraph states that he was praised by poets, by wits and by orators.⁴ He was "the receptacle of a number of good qualities" and had for the ornaments of his ears the listening to the Śaiva traditions. He was the support of all learned men and the preceptor of inexhaustible benefits to them.⁵ The record continues to say that king Permādi was a very Sankrandana in enjoying all objects of enjoyment and a very Ravinandana in respect of his complete liberality.

It follows from the above that Permādi was a great patron of letters. His court must have been an academy where poets were holding assemblies to recite their new poems. Permādi's love for learning was so great that he is called a second Bhōja⁶, a prince who, according to tradition, was a great patron of learning.

We do not know when Permādi died. But the fact that there are no more inscriptions of this ruler after A. D. 1144 would perhaps suggest that he died after issuing this grant, probably in A. D. 1148 or thereabout. As he left no issues, the kingdom passed on to his younger brother Cāvunḍa.

Thus passed away a victorious ruler who was adorned with the title "the sun of the white lotuses of the *Sindakula*".

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. N. R. A. S., XI, p. 245.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 235.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 270.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 236.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Ibid.*, pp. 235 and 270.

CHAPTER IX

CĀVUNḌA II.

Cāvuṇḍa II, who was also known as Vīra-Cāvuṇḍarasa,⁽¹⁾ was the younger brother of Permāḍidēva I.⁽²⁾ We have five records of the time of this ruler. It is not possible to fix the exact year of his coronation in the light of the inscriptions so far discovered. Nevertheless, we have seen in the last chapter that there are no records of Permāḍi I after A.D. 1144. The earliest inscription of the reign of Cāvuṇḍa II gives him the date of A.D. 1151.⁽³⁾ It is thus clear that he succeeded to the throne somewhere between 1144 and 1151.

The period to which Cāvuṇḍa belongs was remarkable for the great political change that took place in the Dekkan. The power of the Cālukyas was rapidly declining and many of the feudatories, who were all the while loyal to the imperial dynasty, became powerful and arrogant. Chief among such subordinates was Kālacūrya Bijjaḷa who was the vassal of Jagadēkumalla II. Records reveal that he was the *daṇḍanāyaka* of Tailapa III. An inscription at Belgāmi dated in A.D. 1155 states that Bijjaḷa was then governing "all the provinces"⁽⁴⁾, which implies that he was the ministerial head of the administration. The position of the *daṇḍanāyaka*, however, helped Bijjaḷa much to accomplish his desire to deal a death blow at the Cālukyan supremacy. When Bijjaḷa was thus waiting for an opportunity to oust the weak emperor, the Kākatēya prince Prōḷa, father of Rudradēva, attacked Taila from out-

(1) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1929-29, p. 43, No. 33 (Appendix E).

(2) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S, XI, p. 270.

(3) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1929-29, p. 43, No. 33 (Appendix E).

(4) Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 100.

side. The Anamkoṇḍ inscription tells us that "in an instant he made captive in war the glorious Tailapadēva, the ornament of the Cālukyas, who was skilled in the practice of riding upon elephants, whose utmost thoughts were ever intent upon war, and who was mounted upon an elephant which was like a cloud in size." This blow from the outside was accompanied by still more serious internal troubles.

Bijjala, as we have seen, was the commander-in-chief of all the forces, and practically the most powerful person in the empire.² Bijjala used the army to deprive Taila of his kingdom. He took possession of a part of the kingdom in A.D. 1156, and completed his usurpation in A.D. 1162.³

What was the policy directed by the Sinda Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara towards this act of usurpation? Two inscriptions of A. D. 1179 and 1180 found at Rōṇ⁴ and Sūḍi⁵ respectively tell us that, by a wife named Ēcaladēvi, Bijjala had a son Vajradēva and a daughter Siriyādēvi. The daughter was married to the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Cāvuṇḍa II of the Sinda family. Cāvuṇḍa was thus the son-in-law of Bijjala. We have no evidence to show when this marriage took place. Nevertheless, it may be presumed that Siriyādēvi was married to Cāvuṇḍa before Bijjala completed his usurpation. We are told that Bijjaladēva, the son of Cāvuṇḍa by Siriyādēvi, was governing the Kisukāḍu seventy district in 1169 A. D.⁶ Bijjaladēva could not be a minor in 1169, as he was ruling the district without the help of any officer. Even assuming that he was a boy of about twelve years

(1) *Ind. Ant.*, XI, p. 17.

(2) Rica, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 54.

(3) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 462.

(4) *Car. Desa Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 231; referred to by Dr. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 477.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 477.

(6) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 277.

only, we get the year 1157 which may now be taken as the year of his birth. It is thus apparent that Siriyādēvi was married to Cāvuṇḍa before Bijjala completed his usurpation.

The fact of Cāvuṇḍa's marriage with Siriyādēvi is of utmost importance, in so far as Cāvuṇḍa's attitude towards Taila III was concerned. Did Cāvuṇḍa stand by the side of his emperor? Or did he assist his own father-in-law Bijjala, so that he might be politically free? These are the questions which the historian has to answer.

The Paṭṭadakal inscription of Cāvuṇḍa II, dated in the month of *Jyēṣṭha* falling in A. D. 1163, mentions him as a feudatory of Taila III.¹ This clearly shows that Cāvuṇḍa, in spite of an intermarriage with the Kālacūryas, did not acquiesce in Bijjala's usurpation, but entertained hopes from the first for a restoration of the Cālukyan sovereignty.

By remaining loyal to Taila III, Cāvuṇḍa not only proved himself worthy of the trust reposed in the Sinda chieftains by the Cālukyan Emperors from time to time, but also displayed his talent as a far sighted statesman. Cāvuṇḍa must have realised the fact that the well established supremacy of the Cālukyas was responsible for the growing prosperity and influence of the Sind race. From the time of Cāvuṇḍa's grand-father the Sindas were the most favourite feudatories of the Cālukyas, who freely allowed the Sindas to become more and more influential. Both the dynasties, the imperial and the feudatory, were acting together with so much of mutual confidence that the strength of the one was considered the strength of the other. It was this motive that prompted Cāvuṇḍa II to remain loyal to his emperor upto the last.

But at last when Cāvuṇḍa lost all hopes of a restoration of the Cālukyan sovereignty, he seemed to have declared independence. The Hirēmaṇṇūr record of Cāvuṇḍa dated in A. D.

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 259.

1169 mentions no paramount sovereign,¹ which clearly implies that he had assumed the status of independence by this time.

Among the contemporary Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras of Cāvuṇḍa II, mention may be made of Īśvara Dēva Sinda of Belagavarti, Kārtavīrya III Raṭṭa of Saundatti, Vīra Vikramāditya I Gutta of Guttal, Vijayāditya Silāhāra of Karāḍ, Śivacitta and Viśvacitta Kadambas of Gōi, and Kirtī Dēva Kadamba of Hāṅgal.

Cāvuṇḍa was undoubtedly a powerful Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara. He possessed a strong army.² It was perhaps due to Cāvuṇḍa's military strength that Bijjala was not able to bring him to his allegiance. After completing the work of usurpation, Bijjala adopted the policy of subduing the feudatory families and of bringing them under his supremacy. Among the feudatories thus subjugated, the Raṭṭa Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kārtavīrya III was one. It is stated in a record of A.D. 1165 that Bijjala, "having subdued all kings, was ruling the world with the one umbrella of sole sovereignty."³ But the Sinda chief Cāvuṇḍa II was not a weak monarch like his Raṭṭa contemporary to fall a prey to Bijjala's powerful army. That is the reason why the Sinda inscriptions proudly state, though with some exaggeration, that "if the hostile kings with the proclamations of their titles opposed king Cāvuṇḍa, they were straightway ingloriously put to flight and so departed without the honourable decoration of their entrails (torn out in a glorious death) and without enjoying the embraces of the arms of the nymphs of heaven (who are the reward of such as die bravely)."⁴

(1) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1927-28, p. 20, No. 4, (Appendix E),

(2) *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 90; referred to by Dr. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 476.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, *J. B. R. A. S.*, XI, p. 270.

It follows from the above extract that Cāvuṇḍa II was not an aggressor. But at the same time it can be safely inferred that he was a powerful monarch who could defend himself against those who wanted to oppose him. Unfortunately, the inscription does not mention the names of the "hostile kings." Nevertheless, judging from the times, it may be presumed that the extract quoted above refers to none else but Bijjaḷa who had then assumed the status of a powerful aggressor.

Cāvuṇḍa was a wise statesman. In order to protect his kingdom from the Kālacūrya menace, he seems to have followed the plan of appointing his own sons as governors of various districts. The Paṭṭadukal grant of his reign mentions his chief wife Dēmuladēvi and his eldest son Ācugi III as governing as his representatives the territory surrounding the ancient capital of Paṭṭadakisuvoḷa.¹ Similarly, the Aihole inscription records that his two sons by Siriyādēvi were entrusted with the administration of the Kisukāḍu Seventy, the Bāgaḍage Seventy and the Kēlavāḍi Three-hundred.² It should be noted, in this connection, that Siriyādēvi unlike Dēmuladēvi had no connections whatsoever with the administration of the country. This would perhaps suggest that Cāvuṇḍa II could not naturally repose full confidence in Siriyādēvi, as she was the sister of Bijjaḷa.

Cāvuṇḍa II is described as a successful ruler. The Aihole inscription mentioned above speaks of his brilliant achievements and attainments in the following terms: "Victorious is he, the king who excels in impetuosity,—who is the stage for the dances of the dancing girl who is the goddess of victory who has conquered (in) the battle-field; who has broken the pride of arms of his enemies;

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. E. R. A. S., XI, p. 272.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 277.

who excels in the virtue of generosity; whose mind contains all knowledge."¹

Kings of ancient Karnāṭaka were culturally bound to patronise learning and literature. Hence the records speak of almost every ruler as a patron of letters. It will be wrong to suppose, as some scholars do, that it was only a convention to describe every monarch as a lover of learning. The very existence of a vast body of Kannada literature, belonging to the period of our study, bears an eloquent testimony to the fact that a king's court in those days was a resort of literary luminaries. Cāvunḍa's court was not an exception to this rule. It is said that he "associated with learned men of various kinds."² Another inscription says that he "bestowed gold in abundance upon excellent learned men and good poets."³

Cāvunḍa II was a typical ruler of his age in regard to his attitude towards religious grants. The Arasibīdi inscription informs us that Cāvunḍa, at the instance of his learned queen Dēmuladēvi, made a gift to Nēmicandra Paṇḍitadēva, the disciple of a Nayakīrti Siddhāntadēva of the Mūḷa-Saṅgha, the Kundakundānvaya, the Dēsiya-gaṇa and the Puṣṭaka-gaccha.⁴ Similarly, an epigraph that comes from Hirēmaṇṇūr registers a grant of land made by Cāvunḍa II at the request of Dāsabōva, the *adhiṣṭhāyaka* of the *Jainasāle*.⁵ Both these endowments to Jaina teachers by a Śaiva ruler only illustrate the liberal attitude of ancient Kannada kings towards all religions.

During the reign of Cāvunḍa II, the Sinda territory seems to have been extended beyond the limits of the four here-

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. H. R. A. S., XI, p. 277.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 277.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 271.

(4) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1923-29, p. 43, No. 33, (Appendix E).

(5) *Ibid.*, 1927-28, p. 20, No. 4, (Appendix E).

ditary districts. The Puṭṭadakaḷ inscription speaks of Cāvuṇḍa as ruling the Kisukāḍu Seventy, the Bāgaḍage Seventy, the Kēlavāḍi Three hundred and "several other districts."¹ These "several other districts" were most probably acquired by Cāvuṇḍa himself during the confusion that then arose on account of the Kālacūri usurpation. It is not possible due to paucity of materials to identify the newly annexed districts. Nevertheless, it can be gathered that the Kunṭige Seventy was one of these divisions. For we learn from the Uṇaḍgēri record of Cāvuṇḍa's time that under his orders a gift was made by *Iḍḍagaḍa* Iṣvarayya from his camp at Kunṭige, the chief town of Kunṭige Thirty division, which was thus apparently included in the Sinda kingdom.²

Dēmaladēvi, the elder wife of Cāvuṇḍa, is described as a "very Pārijāta tree (in respect of her liberality) to her attendants, a very cow of the gods to (gratify) the many desires of excellent people and friends, a very mother of those who begged of her".³ She is further represented as "the female swan of the lotus pool which was the heart of king Cāvuṇḍa". She was perhaps a very beautiful lady. The inscription describes her body, arms, eyes, face, curls upon her forehead, and breasts with apt similes and calls her a very Rati in respect of her charms. Dēmaladēvi was a learned lady and was responsible for the diffusion of learning among her subjects. It is said that she, with her husband, used to make gifts to teachers.⁴

Cāvuṇḍa II died in C. 1170 A. D. after a reign of about twenty years.

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 277.

(2) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1927-28, p. 22, No. 28, (Appendix E).

(3) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 271.

(4) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1928-29, p. 43, No. 33, (Appendix E)

CHAPTER X.

BIJJAĀ AND VIKRAMA.

Records at Aihole¹, Rōṇ² and Sūdi³ show that, by the wife Siriyādēvi, daughter of the Kālucūrya king Bijjaḷa, Cāvunḍa II had two sons named Bijjaḷa and Vikrama or Vikkayya. Siriyādēvi is described as the virtuous wife of king Cāvunḍa II. She is spoken of as a very Arundhati in devotion to her husband, a very Bhārati in wisdom, and a very Rati in beauty.⁴ Her sons Bijjaḷa and Vikrama, without any title, were governing the Kisukāḍu Seventy, the Bāgaḍage Seventy, and the Kēlavāḍi Three-hundred in the Virōdhin *Samvatsara* corresponding to A. D. 1169-70 cited as the ninety-fourth year of the era of the Western Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI.⁵ It is to be noted that they were governing these districts as governors during the lifetime of their father.

As seen in the last chapter, Cāvunḍa II died either in A. D. 1170 or a year or two later. Besides Bijjaḷa and Vikrama, Cāvunḍa II had two other sons, namely, Acugi and Pērmāḍi by his senior wife Dēmaladēvi.⁶ During the life time of Cāvunḍa, Acugi and his mother were governing at Puṭṭadakisuvoḷa as the kings's representatives.⁷

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 274; *Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 96.

(2) *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 224; referred to by Dr. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 477.

(3) *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 226; referred to by Dr. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 477.

(4) *Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 93.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 99; Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 277.

(6) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 272.

(7) *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 221; referred to by Dr. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 576.

After the death of Cāvūṇḍa II, there must have been a dispute as to the succession between Bijjala and Vikrama on the one side and Ācugi and Permāḍi on the other. This quarrel for succession for the Sinda throne must have naturally afforded a very good opportunity for the Kālacūrya king to bring the Sindas under his allegiance. As the Kālacūryas were the near relatives of Bijjala and Vikrama, it may be safely presumed that the Kālacūryas actively assisted them against their half-brothers, and thus secured for them at least the greater part of the Sinda kingdom, if not the whole of it. This presumption of ours is supported by epigraphical evidence. An inscription from Rōṇ, dated in the month of Āśvina (September–October) falling in 1179, says that at the capital of Brambarage, Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vikrama was ruling the Kisukāḍu Seventy, as a feudatory of the Kālacūrya king Saṅkama.⁸ Again the Kaṭgēri inscription of A. D. 1179 informs us that Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vira-Bijjaḍadēvarasa and the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of the Sinda family were jointly governing the Kisukāḍu Seventy, the Bāgaḍage Seventy, Nareyaṅgal Twelve and Keḷavāḍi Threehundred and Kiriviḍi Thirty, accepting the sovereignty of the Kālacūrya king Saṅkama.¹ Similarly, another epigraph which comes from the same place also tells us that Bijjarasa and Vikramāditya of the Sinda family were governing Bāgaḍage Seventy, Kisukāḍu Seventy, Hambarage Twelve, and Nareyaṅgal Twelve.² It is crystal clear from these records that Bijjala and Vikrama obtained the whole of the Sinda kingdom, and that too under the sovereignty of their uncle Saṅkama, thus ousting their half-brothers Ācugi III and Permāḍi II.

Saṅkama died in or about A. D. 1181, and was succeeded by his younger brother Āhavamalla.³ Āhavamalla does not seem to have been so powerful a monarch as his brother

(1) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1923-24, p. 50, No. 151, (Appendix E.)

(2) *Ibid.*, No. 149, (Appendix E.)

(3) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 488.

Saṅkama. Accordingly, during his reign the Sinda brothers Bijjala and Vikrama freed themselves from the yoke of the Kālacūrya kings and declared independence. It is really interesting to note that the Sinda independence was regained by the same persons who had lost it only a few years back. The fact that Bijjala and Vikrama ruled as independent monarchs is evidenced by a Sinda inscription from Sūlibhūvi which does not mention any paramount sovereign.¹ This epigraph is dated in the Viśvasu *Samvatsara* corresponding to A. D. 1185-86. Again the Banaganatti grant of 1187 A. D. mentions Bijjala and Vikramadeva as ruling over the Kisukāḍu Seventy, Bāḡadage Seventy, Kēlavāḍi Three-hundred, Nareyaṅgaḷ Twelve and Kiriṇḍi Thirty, without recognising the supremacy of any paramount power.²

The reign of these Sinda brothers was remarkable for the great political events which completely changed the history of Karnāṭaka. The sons of the Kālacūrya king Bijjala were not as capable as their father. This gave an opportunity to the Cālukyan king Sōmēśvara IV and his followers to subvert the usurping Kālacūrya line. With the help of the *Daṇḍaṇāyaka* Brahma, Sōmēśvara IV was able to restore the Cālukyan power for a time. This work of restoration seems to have been completed by A. D. 1185. For one record at Anṇigere, dated in A. D. 1184-85, says plainly that the position of Sōmēśvara IV was secured for him by Brahma, and adds that the latter, "a fire of death to the Kālacūryas", seized the whole earth for the purpose of making the Cālukyas lords of all the world.³ The same fact is further corroborated by some Hoysala inscriptions.⁴

(1) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1928-29, p. 46, No. 67, (Appendix E).

(2) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1927-28, p. 22, No. 37, (Appendix E).

(3) *Corn. Desu Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 37; referred to by Dr. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 464.

(4) Hayavadana Rao, *Mysore Quarterly*, II, Part II, p. 859.

The restoration of the Cālukyan supremacy seems to have proved fatal to the Sinda independence. We have already seen that Bijjala and Vikrama were ruling as independent kings in A. D. 1187. But an inscription at Koṇṇūr in the Bijāpur District mentions Bijjala Sinda as a subordinate of the Cālukyan king Sōmēśvara IV.¹ Unfortunately, the date of the record is not legible. It can, however, be inferred that the Sinda brothers had completely lost their independence somewhere between A. D. 1187 and 1190. An inscription discovered at Moḷukāpuram in the Bellāry District and dated in 1184 A. D. tells us that one Padmīdēva, the son of the above mentioned famous general Brahma, and his maternal uncle Vatsarāja were jointly ruling the whole of the eastern country, including the Sindavāḍi province². Sindavāḍi province referred to here is not the Sindavāḍi of the Yelburgā branch. That portion of the Bellāry District which was under the rule of the Kurgōḍ Sīndas was also called Sindavāḍi. The inscription in question refers to this eastern Sindavāḍi. The very fact that these powerful officers of Sōmēśvara IV were in charge of the north-eastern country in A. D. 1184 would naturally suggest that it were they who were instrumental in bringing the Yelburgā Sīndas under Cālukyan allegiance. Thus, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Bijjala had accepted Cālukyan supremacy somewhere between A. D. 1187 and 1190.

The latest inscription we have for Bijjala is the above mentioned Koṇṇūr epigraph of the reign of Sōmēśvara IV. What became of him afterwards or when he died is not known.

It seems that after the death of Bijjala Sinda, his younger brother Vikrama was not allowed to retain the whole of Sindavāḍi-nāḍ under his rule. Vikrama's half-brother Ācugi III, who was deprived of the share of his father's (Cāvunḍa II) kingdom, was waiting for an oppor-

(1) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1928-29, p. 47, No. 86, (Appendix E).

(2) *Mys. Arch. Report*, 1916, No. 555.

tunity to have his due. He now seems to have sought the aid of Sōmēśvara IV in order to establish himself as a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara. The efforts of Ācugi III appear to have been met with complete success. For we learn from an inscription at Kalakapana-gudda that Ācidēva Sinda was ruling as a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara the southern part of Sindavāḍi-nāḍ in the year A. D. 1196 under Sōmēśvara IV.¹

Vikrama, however, continued to rule the northern districts for many years to come, excepting the short period at the close of the twelfth century which was marked by the Hoysala invasion of the Sindavāḍi province. It must be remembered that Vikrama ruled all these years as a subordinate either of the Cālukyan Emperor Sōmēśvara IV or of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, according to the political circumstances of those disturbed times. Inscriptions, dated in 1189 A. D. and found in the Bijāpur and Dhārwar Districts, show that Bhillaṇa, the Yādava king had by that time secured the northern and eastern portions of the Cālukyan kingdom.² Other inscriptions, dated in 1122 A. D. and found in the Dhārwar and Śimogā Districts, show that before the end of that year the Hoysalas under Vīra-Ballāḷa II had made equal encroachments from the south. It would seem that in the course of a few years, the Yādavas were acknowledged as the sovereigns of North Karnāṭaka, while the Hoysalas that of South Karnāṭaka. Accordingly, Vikrama Sinda had to accept the supremacy of the Yādavas in order to retain his position as a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara. It has been expressly stated in a Rōṇ inscription of A. D. 1220 that Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vikramāditya of the Sinda family was ruling as a feudatory of the Yādava king Śiṅghanadēva.³ This is the last record we have for Vikrama Sinda. What became of him afterwards we do not know.

(1) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1927-28, p. 23, No. 35, (Appendix E.)

(2) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, pp. 518-19.

(3) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1927-28, p. 23, No. 36, (Appendix E.)

Among the officers of Bijjala and Vikrama, was a certain Sōvaṇa-daṇḍanātha who held the office of *pradhāna* in A. D. 1179.¹ The officer, who was actively assisting Sōvaṇa in the administration of the country, was one *daṇḍanāyaka* Tikkarasa who was the *adhikāri* of Bāgaḍage-nāḍ.²

Both Bijjala and Vikrama are recorded to have made grants to temples.³ The Sūlibhāvi stone registers the gift of land made by Vikrama Sinda for feeding Brāhmans in the temple of Kēśavadēva at Arasiyabīḍu.⁴ Both the brothers were actively helping the educational institutions to flourish. For instance, they are reported to have made the grant of one entire village, namely, Suggiyāḍu to the 500 *Mahājanas* of the Mahāgrahāra of Kaḍakere.⁵

(1) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1928-29, p. 50, No. 151, (Appendix E.)

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*, 1927-28, p. 22, No. 33, (Appendix E.)

(4) *Ibid.*, No. 65, (Appendix E.)

(5) *Ibid.*, No. 151, (Appendix E.)

CHAPTER XI.

ĀCUGI III AND PERMĀḌI II.

Ācugi III and Permāḍi II were the sons of Cāvuṇḍa II by his senior queen Dēmaladēvi. The Paṭṭadakai inscription of the reign of Cāvuṇḍa II says that Dēmaladēvi and her son Ācugi were governing the territory, as regents, from Kisuvoḷal or Paṭṭada-kisuvoḷal, that is, Paṭṭadakai, which was the most ancient historical town of Kisukāḍu district.¹

There is an interesting description of Kisukāḍu and the town Kisuvoḷal in this inscription. If it is in any extent typical of the peace and economic prosperity that the districts enjoyed during the rule of Cāvuṇḍa II, it ought to be worthy of note. After observing that the district of Kisukāḍu was like a forehead of the lovely woman who was the country of Kuntala, the composer of the inscription says :

“ In it the city of Kisuvoḷal, which might be called its jewelled diadem, is very beautiful, even Vāsuki can never properly praise the country that surrounds that town. Is there any holy place on the surface of the earth that surpasses Kisuvoḷal which was the place of the coronation of Nṛga, and Nahusa, and Nahu, and Pūrūrava, and other kings ? With its groves that are carefully tended, with its pellucid tanks set round with flowers, with its sacred river called the Malahari, with its fertile fields, with its beds of water-lilies, and with its swarming cuckoos and parrots and *caṭvā* birds and cranes and geese, Kisuvoḷal is truly very charming.”

Making some allowance for poetic exaggeration, the description shows that the country enjoyed the blessings of peace and happiness.

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Śundavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. & R. A. S., XI, p. 272.

Dēmaladēvi and Ācugi, "having deliberated on the continuance of the pious grants that were made by former kings", are reported to have allotted three hundred *mallars* of land to the god the holy Vīkveśvaradēva of Kisuvolaḷ for the purpose of *aṅgabhōga* and *raṅgabhōga* of the deity.¹

Dēmaladēvi and Ācugidēva seem to have considered the happiness of the agriculturists as their own happiness. We are told that they once granted to the agriculturists of Kisuvolaḷ privileges and contributions, cattle and rent-free lands, houses and taxes.²

After the death of Cāvuṇḍa, Ācidēva III and Permāḍi II were removed from the administration of the kingdom by their half-brothers Bijjaḷa and Vikrama. The way in which it could have been done is already suggested in the last chapter. The older brother Ācugi seems to have struggled very hard for many years to regain his lost share. But his efforts were met with success only when king Sōmēśvara re-established the Cālukyan supremacy in the north. We have the good fortune to possess an inscription, dated 31st October 1196 A. D., which says that Ācugidēva Sinda was ruling the southern part of Sindavāḍi as a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara under Sōmēśvara IV.³ This would only suggest that it was due to Sōmēśvara that he was raised to the position of a feudatory chieftain.

But Ācugi was not destined to enjoy peace any longer. At the close of the twelfth century, the powerful Hoysaḷa monarch Vīra-Ballāḷa II led his campaigns against the Yāḍava king Bhīllama, pushed to the north of the Dhārwar District, defeated Brahma, the general of Sōmēśvara IV,

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 273.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1927-28, pp. 32, No. 35, (Appendix E)

and Bhillama and his ministers Jaitasinha¹. It is certain that Ācugi lost his kingdom in this great confusion.

The last date we have for Ācugi is the 31st October 1196 A. D. We cannot say in paucity of materials when exactly he died. Of his younger brother Permāḍi, we have no information beyond the bare mention of his name.

(1) *Ind. Ant.*, II, p. 299; *Garn, Desu Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 301; referred to by Dr. Fleet, *Kannurese Dynasties*, p. 502.

CHAPTER XII.

THE END OF THE DYNASTY

With the glory of the Cālukyas, passed away the glory of the *Śindavamsa* chieftains. The closing years of the twelfth century witnessed the bloody war between the Hoysaḷas and the Yādavas. Sōmēśvara IV, who had re-established the supremacy of the Cālukyas in about A. D. 1185, soon lost it owing to his defeat at the hands of the Yādava kings. The weakness of Sōmēśvara was a signal for the ambitious Hoysaḷa king Vīra-Ballāḷa II to invade the northern part of Karnaṭaka. When Vīra-Ballāḷa II led his northern campaigns, the Sinda kingdom was divided into twain, the northern portion being under the joint rule of Bijjaḷa and Vikrama, while the southern district was administered by Ācugi III. How this came to be we have already explained in the last chapter. The fact that the Sinda chieftains were then ruling as the subordinates of Sōmēśvara IV is manifest from an inscription of A. D. 1196 which states that Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Ācidēvarasa Sinda was a feudatory of Sōmēśvara IV¹. It cannot, however, be said with any certainty that Sōmēśvara was still retaining his supreme position so late as A. D. 1196. It may be that the faithful Sinda chieftain Āchugi III still entertained hopes of a restoration of Sōmēśvara to his former position, and hence continued to acknowledge his sovereignty in spite of his (Sōmēśvara) being reduced to a second-rate power in the Dekkan.

Records show that the Hoysaḷa king Vīra-Ballāḷa II defeated both the Yādava king Bhīllama and the Cālukyan king Sōmēśvara IV. This was in or about A. D. 1211.² After defeating them, Vīra-Ballāḷa marched against the Mahā-

(1) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1927-28, p. 32, No. 35, (Appendix E)

(2) *Ind. Ant.*, II, p. 299, *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 30; re'erred to by Dr. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 502.

maṇḍalēśvaras and other rulers who now formed themselves into a very powerful league.¹ The Sinda chieftains must have necessarily been the prominent members of this hostile host, combined against the invader. It is said that though the Yādava king came with as many as 200,000 infantry armed with thunder-bolts, and 12,000 calvary, conspicuous with high saddles and jewelled breast-plates, Vira-Ballāla on his one elephant charged the Yādava king's army, put them to flight and slaughtered them from Soratūr to the bank of the Kṛṣṇavēṇi river.² When a host of hostile kings, including the Sindas, combined against him, he suddenly besieged and took the forts of Brambarage, the stronghold of the Sindas, Virāṭana Kōṭe (Hānugul), Gutti, Belliṭṭige, Raṭṭapaṭṭi, Soratūr, and Kurugōḍu.³ The reduction of Brambarage was probably effected between A. D. 1193 and 1197. In about 1194 A.D., Lokkiguṇḍi in the Dhārwar District became the temporary capital of Vira-Ballāla, and from there he appears to have moved on to Brambarage in about 1195 A. D.⁴ A record of A. D. 1195 mentions Vira-Ballāla as then reigning at Brambarigoya-Kuppa, evidently in the course of his campaigns. Again an inscription from Arasikere, dated in A.D. 1196, states that Vira-Ballāla was in the residence of Brambarage.⁵ From Brambarage he reduced the forts mentioned above. Some of these did not yield easily. Lokkiguṇḍi was defended by Juiṭugi, the Yādava king, and seemed invulnerable with high ramparts and lofty bastions on which were mounted astonishing flag staves.⁶ The fact, that, Vira-Ballāla was able to reduce many of the forts from Brambarage clearly shows that he not only took possession of the most important city of the Sindas, but

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 25.

(2) *Ibid.*, Dg. 25.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ep. Car.*, V, Bl. 204. and Ak. 5.

(5) *Ibid.*, V, Ak. 104.

(6) *Ibid.*, V, Bl. 204.

also occupied it completely. This could have been done only by driving the Sinda chieftains out of Sindavāḍi province.

From this time onwards the Sindas of Yelburgā ceased to exist as a prominent ruling family in the Dekkan. It can be said that the great chieftains of the *Sindavamśa*, who had held the Hoysaḷas in check up to this time, now succumbed to the conquests of Vīra-Ballāḷa II. The northern boundary of the Hoysaḷa kingdom under Vīra-Ballāḷa thus extended, was evidently the Malprabhā and the Kṛṣṇā where the Malprabhā joins it.¹

The kingdom of the Sindas, which extended on both sides of the Malprabhā, came to be divided, the northern half being included in the Yādava dominions, while the southern half was under the Hoysaḷa supremacy. Thus the Sinda chieftains, who had once struck terror in the hearts of the Hoysaḷa kings now fell on evil days. But the time for the final disappearance of the dynasty was yet to come.

The Yādavas, who were assisted by the Sindas against the Hoysaḷas, were naturally considerate towards the Sinda chieftains. They seem to have raised the dynasty to its former position of feudatory chiefs. Vikrama Sinda is said to have been ruling as the subordinate of the Yādavas in the early years of the twelfth century.² The Yādavas, whom Vīra-Ballāḷa II had so valiently fought and beaten, again made attempts to press towards the south during the reign of Naraśimha II, the successor of Vīra-Ballāḷa. Consequently, a great battle was fought on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra evidently between A. D. 1215 and 1220. This battle was so sanguinary that, we are told, the Tuṅgabhadra was filled to the banks with stream of blood. The Yādava army was

(1) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, pp. 503-504.

(2) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1927-28, p. 23, No 36, (Appendix E)

apparently done to death almost to a man.¹ Despite this success there is reason to believe that Naraśimha II lost most, if not all, of the territory north to the Tuṅgabhadrā. It is evident that the Yādavas recovered from the defeat and took the offensive against the Hoysalas, and Naraśimha just succeeded in keeping them away from crossing the Tuṅgabhadrā which marked his northern boundary.

This success of the Yādavas was very favourable to the Sinda chieftain Vikramāditya. It seems that the Yādavas now restored to him even that part of the Sindayāḍi, lying south of the Malprabhu which was lost to the Sindas during the invasion of Ballāḷa II. This presumption of ours is corroborated by a newly discovered inscription in the Rāṇ Tālukā of the Dhārwar District, which says that Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vikramāditya of the Sinda family was ruling that part of the country in A. D. 1220 as a subordinate of the Yādava king Singhaṇḍēva.² Vikrama was now an old man of about seventy. This is the last record we have for the Sinda dynasty of Yelburgā. What became of the family afterwards is not known. The probability is that Vikrama Sinda had no issues to succeed him, and hence the province was handed over to one of Singhaṇḍ's ordinary officials to be administered as a territory directly held by the Yādavas. This inference is corroborated by an inscription found at Niḍagundi and belonging to the reign of the Yādava king Singhaṇḍ, which mentions his *Mahāpradhāna*, the *Mahāpaśāyita*, *Paramaviśvāsīn*, *Bāhattara Niyōgādhipati*, the *Sarvādhipāri* Vasudēva Nāyaka as ruling in A. D. 1229 or 1233 Erāmburage, "which had caused itself to be called the capital or a capital in Kisukāḍu Seventy."³

Thus ended the eventful and distinguished rule of about two centuries of the Sinda Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras of Yelburgā,

(1) *Ep. Car.*, V, Hassan, 84.

(2) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1927-28, p. 23, No. 36, (Appendix E)

(3) *Ind. Ant.*, XXX, p. 267.

during which period the Cālukyan Empire reached the pinnacle of its glory under Vikramāditya the great, and also saw its decline and fall in the later half of the twelfth century. The great Sindas, namely, Ācugi II and Permāḍi I remained a dominant power in the Karnāṭaka for a period of two generations and struck terror in the hearts of the Hoysaḷas. The name of the *Sindavamsa* will be ever remembered in the annals of South India, on account of the timely services rendered by Ācugi II and his son Permāḍi to Vikramāditya VI with a view to protect the integrity of the Cālukyan Empire.

There is, all the same, something pathetic in the fall and the final disappearance of the Volburgā Sindas as a ruling family. A dynasty that counted amongst its members such great names as Ācugi II and Permāḍi I was unable to stem the successive tides of the Kālacūryas, the Yādavas, and the Hoysaḷas. The downfall of the Cālukyas proved fatal to the Sindas. But the greatest blow that weakened the resisting capacity of the dynasty was undoubtedly the partition of the Sinda kingdom after the death of Cāvunḍa II.

PART III
MINOR SINDA DYNASTIES

CHAPTER I.

THE SINDAS OF KURUGŌḌU.

The Sindas of Kurugōḍu are an important branch of the famous *Sindavamśa*. Kurugōḍu is a village in the Bellāry Tālukā of the Bellāry District. That it was once a famous town with a hill-fort of great strength and repute is evident from the various inscriptions that have come down to us. Thus, for instance, a Sinda epigraph of Rācamalla II speaks of it in bombastic terms: "The stronghold of Kurugōḍu puts to shame the strongholds of the oceans on the right and left, surpassing strongholds of woods and hills on the adjoining sides.¹ It is said to hold in check the Cōlas, Gurjaras, Lātas, (people of southern Gujarāt) Pāndyas and Telugas. Besides possessing a strong hill-fort, it was the capital of Ballakunde-nād over which the Sindas ruled.

Udayāditya is the first king of this line known to us². He is given a date falling in the year to A. D. 1045³. The records mention him as a *Sāmanta* of Trailōkyamalla Nanni Nōlamba Pallava Permāḍidēva, "lord of Kāñci, the best of cities", who was himself a feudatory of the Western Cālukya Emperor Sōmēśvara I.⁴ Dr. Fleet has indentified Permāḍidēva with Jayasīma III, the third son of Sōmēśvara I.⁵

Barmadēva was probably the successor of Udayāditya. This we conclude from the Talakallu inscription which belongs to the reign of Sōmēśvara I.⁶ Trailōkyamalla Nōlamba Pallava Permāḍidēva continued to be a feudatory of the Cālukyas during the reign of Barmadēva also. He is stated to have been ruling the Kōgaḷi 500, the Kaḍambalige 1000

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 275.

(2) *South Ind. Ep.*, No. 193 of 1913.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 214.

(6) *South Ind. Ep.*, No. 523 of 1914.

and the Ballakunṇḍo 300, the last being the province of the Kurugōḍu Sindas.¹ He was ruling over the Ballakunḍo-nāḍi in the sense that he was the immediate superior of Barmadēva Sinda who is mentioned as a subordinate of Perināḍidēva.²

In 1146 we come across two Sinda princes, namely, Immaḍi Bhīma and his younger brother Rācamalla I, who were jointly ruling the Ballakunḍo-nāḍi.³ The very adjective *Immaḍi*, which means the second, is a clear indication that a king by name Bhīma had ruled in the line prior to Bhīma II. But unfortunately no record of Bhīma I has come down to us.

Immaḍi Bhīma, the elder brother, seems to have been a nominal ruler, while the younger brother Rācamalla I was the real head of the state. This we conclude from the fact that all the Sinda inscriptions, which were composed either before or after 1146 A. D., speak of Rācamalla in high terms, while they do not even refer to the name of Immaḍi Bhīma. Thus, of Bhīma we have no information beyond the bare mention of his name.

Rācamalla I was undoubtedly a powerful king. He is described as "a darling of Earth, exceedingly valorous, beloved of victory, beloved of Fortune."⁴ The earliest date we have for him is in 1141 A.D., when he is mentioned as a feudatory of Jagadēkamalla II⁵

That Rācamalla was raised to the position of a first class feudatory chieftain is evident from the Kurugōḍu epigraph which speaks of him as a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara possessing the tokens of royalty, namely, stately horses, brilliant yak-hair fans, and white umbrellas.⁶ He is also said to have established for his descendants a prosperous rule⁷, which is

(1) *South Ind. Ep.*, No. 523 of 1914.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*, No. 211 of 1913.

(4) *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 276

(5) *South Ind. Ep.*, No. 206 of 1913.

(6) *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 282 and 283.

(7) *Ibid.*, 283.

evidently a further indication of his having raised the dignity and influence of his dynasty. We are told that Rācamalla was "a man of noble courses, blest of nature..... victor over the companies of foes, steady in duty,.....and a master of the whole series of arts."¹

Rācamalla seems to be a great patron of Śaivism. It is said that amidst the wondering admiration of the earth he was treating most bountifully the good votaries of Śiva by gratifying them with all gifts of kine, land, gold, food, drink, etc.² We further learn that in the course of his pious and glorious reign he was favoured with an epiphany of the god Śiva and his attendant spirits, and he accordingly rose to exceedingly high estate in life, and after death was translated to Śītōkya in Śiva's heaven.³

We have no more information regarding this king except that he married Sōvaṇḍēvi, who bore him a son Iruṅgula.⁴

The last date for this ruler, according to a Kurugōdu *Sāsana*, is in A.D. 1173.⁵ But Dr. Fleet has shown that this date is irregular.⁶ By a study of other Sinda records we now come to the conclusion that the above date is not only irregular but absolutely misleading. For we learn from an epigraph dated in 1149 that Rācamalla II was the king of Kurugōdu in that year. We have already seen that both Rācamalla I and his elder brother Immaḍi Bhīma were ruling in 1145 A. D. It is thus apparent that Rācamalla I must have died between 1146 and 1149.

We do not know as to who succeeded to the Sinda throne after Rācamalla I. Nevertheloss, there is every

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 282.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*, pp. 282-283.

(4) *Ibid.*, pp. 276 and 283.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 277.

(6) See *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 267.

reason to believe that Iruṅgula the son of Rācamalla, having predeceased his father, Rācamalla II the son of Iruṅgula became the king. Another conjecture is also possible. It may be that Iruṅgula died soon after his coronation, leaving behind him no inscriptions of his short reign. It is, however, certain that if at all Iruṅgula ruled, his reign extended over a period of only three years, that is, the possible period between the death of his father and the accession of his son.

Rācamalla II was the son of Iruṅgula and of his wife Baladēvi¹, also known as Ēcaladēvi.² He was perhaps the greatest king of the dynasty. It appears that he was still in his teens when he ascended the throne. He was, however, fortunate in finding in his faithful minister-general Lakhēya Nāyaka an able supporter of his kingdom. An inscription of 1149 A. D. calls this officer as "the supporter of the kingdom of Immaḍi Rācamalla,"³ who is here mentioned as a feudatory of the Cālukyan Emperor Jagadēkamalla II.

Soon after Rācamalla II became king in 1150 A. D., the Cālukyan Emperor Jagadēkamalla died and Taila III succeeded to the imperial throne of Karnāṭaka. He being a weak monarch, a serious blow to the Cālukyan power was soon dealt by the Kākatēya prince Prōla, father of Rudradēva.⁴ It appears that Rācamalla II took some active part in this conflict and was able, with the help of his general Bēcarasa, to distinguish himself despite the fact that his over-lord Taila was defeated. It is for this reason that Bēcarasa is styled "the destroyer of the Telugus,"⁵ the reference being to the Kākatēya prince who was an Āndhrīte.

(1) *Ep. Ind.* XIV, p. 276

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 283.

(3) *South Ind. Ep.* No. 69 of 1904.

(4) *Ind. Ant.*, XI, p. 17.

(5) *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 276.

This blow from Āndhradēśa was soon followed by still more serious internal troubles that arose in Karnātaka itself. The Kālacūrya Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Bijjala, who was the commander-in-chief of the Western Cālukyan force, took advantage of the weakness of his master Tailapa, and consequently deposed him, thus usurping the imperial throne.¹ Bijjala completed the work of usurpation in A. D. 1162.²

This usurpation of the Cālukyan supremacy had great consequences on the political history of the Dekkan. In the general confusion that must have prevailed during the overthrow of the Cālukyan power, some of the great feudatory families made an attempt to proclaim independence. Among those who made a bid for independence, was the Goā Kadamba king Permāḍi-dēva who now styled himself "*Koṅkapa Cakrawartī*".³ But the Kālacūryas proved too powerful for many other chieftains like Rācamalla II. It is, however, clear that Rācamalla was forced to accept the sovereignty of the Kālacūryas in the course of a few years. We learn from two Kurugōdu inscriptions that Rācamalla was a feudatory under Rāya Murāri Sōvidēva,⁴ who ruled from 1167 to 1177.

We have shown in a previous chapter that the Sinda families were always faithful to the Western Cālukyan Emperors. In fact the glory of the Sindas was largely due to the suzerainty of the Cālukyas. It was, therefore, quite natural that Rācamalla II was anxiously waiting for an opportunity for the revival of the Cālukyan power. Records, however, show that Tailapa's son Sōmēśvara IV was able to recover a great part of his ancestral kingdom in the early

(1) *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, II, pp. 148, 165; referred to by Dr. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 462.

(2) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 462.

(3) Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, p. 201.

(4) *South Ind. Ep.*, Nos. 56 and 58 of 1904.

part of A. D. 1183.¹ Rācamalla II seems to have lost no time in transferring his allegiance to his former masters. In fact, he was perhaps the first Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara to do so. We are informed by one of his Kurugōḍu inscriptions, dated in 1181 A. D., that he was the subordinate of Sōmēśvara IV in that year.²

There is every reason to believe that Rācamalla II, under his favourable overlord Sōmēśvara IV, enhanced the influence of his dynasty. The above mentioned inscription of 1181 tells us that his kingdom was continuing in increasing security. By reading this epigraph, one feels that Rācamalla was a great ruler, who established internal peace and prosperity in the country. As to the economic conditions then prevailing in his kingdom, the record says: "Adorned with pure creeping plants, eager bees, and rice-crops, never a village failing; with *gaṅgas*, ycomen, wealthy and charming persons never a village failing; with temples of gods, never a village failing; with worthy votaries, never a village failing—the mid-country of Ballakunḍe is delightful, in truth like the spring".³ As regards the commercial prosperity of the town Kurugōḍu, the epigraph gives the following hyperbolic account: "The wealthy make naught of Wealth-giver (Kubēra); the jewellers there laugh at the Lord of the Ocean (Varuṇa), the rulers resemble Manu famed among men; it is verily like Bhōgāvati". Making indeed due allowance for poetic fancy, one cannot escape the conclusion that Ballakunḍe was a happy country under the efficient rule of Rācamalla II.

Rācamalla was a wise administrator who seems to have studied the science of government. We are told that he was "renowned in the *Nandana-park* of

(1) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 463.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 265.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 275.

polity".¹ In this task he was ably assisted by his ministers and generals who were men of exceptional ability and who were greatly responsible for the peace and prosperity that flourished in the country during the reign. The inscriptions make special mention of two of these officials, namely, Bēcarusa and Rēcarāja. The former, who is described as the "crest-jewel of the ministers", was the "Manager of his Lord's affairs", the High Minister and the Bearer of the betel-bag.² The latter was the head of the finance department.³

That Rācamalla Sinda was the greatest among his predecessors is evident from the title "the Gōvinda of the Sindas", which was accorded only to him⁴.

We do not know as to when Rācamalla died and what became of his successors, if at all he had any. The records are silent even about Sōma who is mentioned as his younger brother in an inscription of 1181 A. D.⁵ It can, however, be shown that the dynasty succumbed to the Hoysāla conquest in about 1191 A. D. After the short rule of Sōmēśvara IV, the Yādavas in the north and the Hoysālas in the south became the two predominant powers in the Karnāṭaka. Not being satisfied with what they had obtained, both these powers grew more and more ambitious and accordingly came to conflict. The final decisive battle between them was fought in A. D. 1191, which resulted in a victory for the Hoysālas. We are told that the army of the Yādavas consisting of two hundred thousand men with twelve thousand cavalry was pursued by Vira-Ballāla from Soratūr to the banks of the Kṛṣṇavēṇī, and was there destroyed⁶. The record adds that Vira-Ballāla II reduced the forts Erambarage, Hāngal, Gutti, Bellittige, Soratūr and

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 276.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 283.

(5) *Ibid.*

(2) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 276.

(6) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Pg. 25.

Kurugōḍu, the last being the well-known hill-fortress of the Sindas of Ballakunḍe-nāḍ.

It thus seems that the territory of the Kurugōḍu-Sindas was absorbed by the Hoysaḷa kingdom at least for a period of about thirty years. This is corroborated by an inscription, found in the Bellāry District, which mentions Viraballāja II as ruling over that part of the Kuntala in A. D. 1218¹. It is, however, plain that this branch of the Sinda family never revived their kingdom, and hence came to an end.

(1) *South Ind. Ep.*, No. 53 of 1904.

CHAPTER II.

THE SINDAS OF BĀGAḌAGE.

The Sindas of Bāgaḍage¹ were a branch of the celebrated *Sindavamśa*. They bore all the titles that are usually given to the kings of this family. For example, Sāvyaṛasa, one of these kings, is described as a "Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara who had attained *pañcamahāśabda*, the supreme lord of the Bhūgāvati, the best of towns, whose right arm is skilful in protecting the Brāhmanas of the town Aliechatra; the sun of the Sindas; a most devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara; the lord of the banner of hooded serpents, a very king of *nāgas* in human form".²

The Bhairanamaṭṭi inscription³, disclosing the existence of this dynasty, is very important inasmuch as it professes to give the origin of the Sinda family. The same story of their origin is recorded in some other Sinda epigraphs such as the Dāvaṇagere inscription 43 and the Honnāli inscription 50. But the Bhairanamaṭṭi record is the most important of them all inasmuch as it gives us an additional information which is of great political significance. We are told that "when the long-armed lord Sinda joined his hands and closed his eyes (in respectful request), the lord of the Kadambas through affection gave him his daughter and he having taken her, during the time that he lived in dalliance with that charming woman, there were born three sons from whom there sprang those who were born as kings in the most exalted race of the Sindas". This blood connection between the Sindas and the Kadambas, which is mentioned in no other epigraph, leads us to the

(1) Bāgaḍage is the modern Bāgalkōṭ in the Bijāpur District.

(2) *Ep., Ind.*, III, p. 235.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 230.

inevitable conclusion that the Sindas from the very beginning were considered as a ruling tribe.

The fact that the Sindas of Bāgaḍage were the most ancient of all the branches is evident from this epigraph, which states that thirty-one kings in succession governed the Bāgaḍage district after Niḍudol (long-armed) Sinda, the originator of the family. Then there was another prince named Sinda.

In this lineage of the Sindas of Bāgaḍage, "which came without a break" from the long-armed Sinda, there was a certain Kammara or Kammayyarasa. His wife was Sagarabbe Arasi, whom the record describes as an ornament of good qualities. We have no more information about this king.

Pulikāḷa was the son and successor of Kammara. He was born amidst the praises of the world, says the above-mentioned inscription. He is styled "the ornament of the family of the serpents" and "a very Nārāyaṇa among the Sindas". He was the subordinate of the Western Cālukya king Taila II who ruled from 973 to 997 A. D. The Bhairanamaṭṭi inscription furnishes him with a date in A. D. 990-91.

Nāgāditya, Nāgatya, or Nāgātiyarasa was the son of Pulikāḷa by his wife Rēvakabbe. He is the first scion of the House to be raised to the dignity of a *Mahāsāmantaka*, entitled to the honour of *pañcamahāśabda*. He was also entitled to be decorated with three golden umbrellas. He was the feudatory of the Cālukyan Emperor Jayasimha II, who reigned from 1018 to 1042 A. D. We have it on record that Nāgāditya made two grants of land, one to the god Sindēśvara and the other to the deity of Puradakēri.¹ The second gift was made in the Śaka year 955, coupled with A. D. 1033. Nāgāditya seems to have possessed a beautiful personality, as the record calls him a Kāmadēva.

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 236.

To this "brave king" Nāgāditya and to Poleyabbe Arasi was born Polasinda, "an ornament of the Sinda race." As regards the chronology of this king, it may be inferred that he was a contemporary of Jayasimha II. The fact that Polasinda's son was a subordinate of Sōmēśvara II (1069-76) would support our inference.

The next king of the Bāgaḍage line was Sēvya, the son of Polasinda. It is said that he was pure by both lines of descent; for his mother was Bijjaḷādēvi, daughter of the Khāṇḍava Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara.¹ Sēvyarasa is the first member of the House to assume the dignified title Māhāmaṇḍalēśvara, which is a clear indication of his having attained the status of a first class feudatory chieftain. He must have been a good soldier, for the epigraph describes him as "a very Saṃādēva in the art of using sword". Sēvya was the subordinate of the Cālukyan Emperor Sōmēśvara II (A. D. 1069-76). It is said of him that he was a "*kalahaṇṣa* (bird) whose feathers are shuffled by the play of the feet of Bhuvannikamalla-dēva".

We have no more information of this line. As the Bāgaḍage Sindas ruled prior to the Yelburgā branch, it may be that they were the ancestors of the founder of the later dynasty, whose territory included the Bāgaḍage Seventy district also.

- (1) *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 235; Khāṇḍava seems to be a family or territorial designation rather than a personal name. And, in fact, the dictionaries give the word Khāṇḍava as the name of a region.

CHAPTER III.

THE SINDAS OF THE PRATYAṆḌAKA FOUR-THOUSAND PROVINCE.

The Sindas of Pratyāṇḍaka are one of the many offshoots of the celebrated *Sindavamśa*. The only copper-plate charter that we have of this dynasty is found at the village Tiḍagundi, twelve miles from the town of Bijāpur. Bhīma, a king of this family, bears the epithet "the governor of the Pratyāṇḍaka Four-thousand country."¹

Dr. Fleet identifies the Pratyāṇḍaka Four-thousand country with the modern Phaltan State², and adds that it was a considerably larger territory than the present Phaltan State. According to him, it was appropriately bounded on the north by first the Nira, and then the Bhīma, as far as some point near Paṇḍharpūr, on the south bank, in the Shōlapur District, where it would meet the Maṅgalavēṣṭaka territory. On the south, it was very appropriately bounded for the most part by the Mān or Mān-gaṅgā river, which rises above fourteen miles to the south of Phaltan, and flows into the Bhīma between Paṇḍharpūr and Maṅgalvēdhēm.

It should, however, be noted that the governorship of Pratyāṇḍaka, attributed to the Sinda king Bhīma, is a mere hereditary title and nothing more than that. Hence it cannot be taken to indicate that king Bhīma ruled over that part of the country. We are not unfamiliar with such hereditary titles in the history of ancient Karnāṭaka. For instance, the Sinda kings of Belgutti bore the title "lord of Karahāṭapura" among the epithets. We find this title accorded to the kings of that line even so late as 1189 A. D.³ What is to be noted, in this connection, is the fact that the

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 306; *Ind. Ant.*, I, p. 80.

(2) *Ind. Ant.*, XXX, pp. 381-82.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Hl. 46.

Beḷgutti chieftains never ruled the Karahāṭapura (modern Karād in Satāra District), though the founder of the original Sinda dynasty did. Again the Raṭṭas of Saundatti called themselves as the rulers of Laṭṭalūr, a town which did not exist in their kingdom. Similar is the case with many dynasties of ancient Dekkan. Bearing this in mind, it may be safely presumed that Bhīma did not rule over the Pratyāṇḍaka Four-thousand Province.

This dynasty of the Sindas was in possession of a considerable portion of the territory in the Bijāpur District. We know from their inscription that it included the village of Takḷalikā, the modern Takulkee, about twenty-five miles south-west of Tiḍagundi.

The first king of this House of whom we have some information, is Bhīma. He seems to have been a great soldier, as the epigraph speaks of him as a king "of incalculable dread in the fields of battle." As regards the chronology of this king, it may be safely maintained that he ruled in about A. D. 1032. The same record gives a date in 1082 for Bhīma's grandson Muñja. Thus coming back to two generations before Muñja we get the above date for Bhīma.

Sindarāja "of renowned fame" was the son and successor of Bhīma. He is described as "a favourite of the mighty fortune of Victory gained in battlefields," which is evidently an indication of his having attained some military success.

The successor of Sindarāja was his son Muñjarājadēva. The above mentioned copper-plate charter refers to his reign. Muñja is spoken of as a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, "dependent on the lotus feet" of Tribhuvanamalladēva Vikramāditya VI. That Muñja was an important subordinate of Vikrama is evident from his having attained the honour of *pañcamahāśabda*. Some of his epithets are "the supreme lord of the city of Bhōgāvati, born in the serpent-chief's race, the frontal ornament of the Nāga family, the sun of

the lotus the Sinda family, the submarine fire of the Guṇakas." The Guṇakas referred to here cannot be identified in the present stage of historical research.

The inscription of Muṇja purports to record the sale of twelve villages sold by him to one Kappasāmanta. Of both the vendor and the purchaser a large number of *birudas* are enumerated. The latter is also described as being a worshipper of the feet of Tribhuvanamalladēva, which suggests that he owed allegiance to the Cālukyan king. He is further described as a devotee of Śiva and was married to a daughter of the Lāṭas. Kappasāmanta was also entitled to the honour of *pañcamahāśabda*. The grant is silent as to the province or residence of Kappasāmanta. It appears that he was identical with the Raṭṭa Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kappakaira.

It is interesting to note that the deed of sale was completed in the presence of Muṇja's chief-officer, "the illustrious" Khambhayya, Madhukari Nāyaka the *Sandhi-vigrahi*, Bhammayya Nāyaka, and Nimbaya Nāyaka, and it was written by Nannapai, the deputy of the *Sandhi-vigrahin*. The mention of the Minister of Peace and War only explains that Muṇja was a feudatory of the first rank, possessing the important right to wage wars without the permission of the emperor. The sale is stated to have taken place in the year 1083 A. D.

This is the first and the last record of the dynasty. What became of the House after Muṇja is not known. It may be that Muṇja, having died without any issue, his territory was annexed to the Cālukyan Empire by Vikrama.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SINDAS OF CAKRAKŌṬA.

Among the various ruling dynasties of ancient Āndhra-dēśa, was the Sinda House of Cakrakōṭa-maṇḍala, a country continuous to Vengi, being situated in the present Bastar State. This branch of the Sindas was never a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvarian House under the Western Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi. Nevertheless, it would not be inappropriate to include it in this thesis, so that the history of the Sinda race may be complete.

The kings of this branch are mentioned as belonging to the Chindaka family.¹ *Chindaka* is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Kannaḍa word *Sinda*. Moreover, the *birudas* of the Karnaṭaka Sindas are strikingly identical with those of the Bastar *Nāgavamśi* kings. For instance, the famous king Sōmēśvara I is said to have been a Mahārāja, "born of the *Nāgavamśa*, resplendent with the mass of rays of thousand jewels, the lord of Bhōgāvatī, the best of towns, whose crest was a tiger and a calf".² Thus, there can be no doubt that the dynasty was not connected with the Sinda families of the Kannaḍa country. The *vyāgrha-lāñchana* (tiger crest) was common to all branches of the *Sindakula*; because the original ancestor of the *vamśa*, which received its name after him, was believed to have been brought up by the king of serpents on the milk of a tigress.³ While the Bāgaḍage branch had simply the tiger crest and the *phaṇi-kētana* or banner of hooded serpents, the Cakrakōṭa branch had a tiger with a calf or child (*savatsa*), thus depicting probably the story of their origin in a clearer way. The Bastar Sindas were subdivided

1) *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 181, and X, p. 37.

(2) *Ibid.*, IX, p. 316.

(3) See the Chapter on the origin of the Sindavamśa.

into two Houses, the minor of them having the bow and tiger crest and the banner of lotus flower and plantain leaf.¹ One point of striking contrast between the Sindas of Karnaṭaka and those of Āndhradēśa is that the latter, to judge from their titles '*Paramēśvara Parama-bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja*', were independent monarchs without recognising the overlordship of any emperor.

Dhāravarasādēva is the first king of this branch of the Sinda dynasty known to us. We have an inscription of his widow Guṇḍa-Mahādēvi who is recorded to have made two grants, one of the village of Nārāyaṇapura to the "glorious god" Nārāyaṇa, and the other of some land to the god Lōkēśvara.² It should be noted, in this connection, that Guṇḍa-Mahādēvi, though a Śaiva by faith, was not only tolerant of other creeds but actively helped them to flourish. The epigraph does not afford any historical information of the reign of Dhāravarasādēva. It is, however, stated that Guṇḍa-Mahādēvi was a noble lady of royal birth, which would inevitably suggest that Dhāravarasādēva was matrimonially connected with a prominent ruling family of the day. As regards the chronology of this king, we may safely presume that he lived somewhere between 1050 and 1060, judging from the fact that his son was the king of Cakrakōṭa in 1069 A.D.³

Sōmēśvara I was the son of Dhāravarasādēva and of his queen Guṇḍa-Mahādēvi.⁴ We do not know the exact year of his coronation. He, however, seems to have come to the throne in about 1065 A. D.; for the earliest date we have for him is in 1069.

Sōmēśvaradēva was by far the greatest monarch of the dynasty. The Kuruspāl lithic record of his reign refers to his certain contemporary kings.⁵ Most of these kings are

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 181.

(3) *Ibid.*, X, p. 32.

(5) *Ibid.*, X, p. 32.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 316.

(4) *Ibid.*, IX, p. 318.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 25.

mentioned by the names of their countries or capitals, some of them being Uḍra, Lāñji, Ratnapura, Lemna, Veṅgi, Bhadrappuṭṭana and Vajra. "Owing to the mutilated state of the record," says Rāi Bahādūr Hirālāl, the editor of the inscription, "it is not certain whether Sōmēśvara claimed to have conquered them, but one implication is plain, viz, that they were his rivals". It is, however, stated that, having killed the "powerful king" Madhurāntakadēva in battle and having put other kings to trouble, he became, as it were, a junior Nārāyaṇa by imitating the latter's action in having killed Madhura and a host of other demons. Madhurāntakadēva was the king of the minor Sindu House of Cakrakōṭa, who seems to have occupied the territory of which Sōmēśvara claimed to be the hereditary ruler.¹

Sōmēśvaradēva also boasts of having "burnt Veṅgi like the great Arjuna who fired the Khāṇḍava forest."² This was at the most a tit for tat, as we find Cakrakōṭa itself being burnt several times by the kings of the countries on the other side of the Gōḍāvari. It should be noted, in this connection, that many a southern king raided this somewhat weak power. The first raid, so far as it is known, appears to have been made by Vijayāditya III of the Eastern Cālukya line, who ruled between 844 and 888 A. D. He burnt Cakrakōṭa³. Then the Cōḷa king Rājendra (A. D. 1011-33) took Cakrakōṭa which is mentioned as Sakkarakoṭṭam in the record⁴, while one of his successors, namely, king Virarājendra I claims to have crossed the Gōḍāvari, passed through Kaliṅga, and advanced against Cakrakōṭa⁵. Next the Cōḷa king Kulōttuṅga, while yet a youth, won his first laurels in a battle by storming Cakrakōṭa. This happened prior to 1070 A. D., which fact is mentioned in the Tamil poem *Kaliṅgaṭṭa Paraṇi*, and also in

(1) *Ep Ind.*, IX, p. 174.

(2) *Ibid.*, X, p. 25.

(3) *Ibid.*, IV, p. 226.

(4) *South Ind. Inscriptions*, II, p. 108.

(5) *Ibid.*, III, p. 70.

some inscriptions¹. Vikramāditya VI of the Western Cālukya dynasty was the fifth raider, who is said to have conquered Cakrakōṭa as a *Yuvarāja*.² This occurred just a few years before 1076 A. D. when Vikrama became king.

Voṅgi which Sōmēśvara Sinda burnt is the country between the Gōdāvari and the Kṛṣṇā. The inscription mentions the name Viracōḍa³, who, as we know from other sources, was the viceroy of this country appointed by his father.

Sōmēśvaradēva seems to have added another laurel to his fame by burning the forest of the Vajra country⁴. He also claims that he took six lakhs and ninety villages of the Kōsala country.⁵ This Kōsala country has been identified with the Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala which extended from the confines of Berar to Orissa and from Amarakaṇṭaka to Cakrakōṭa.⁶ But it is impossible that this extensive area should contain as many as six lakhs of villages; moreover there is absolutely nothing to justify the boast that Sōmēśvara ever became king of that country. It is possible that he might have raided a part of Kōsala and might have held it in his possession until driven out again. This surmise seems to have been supported by Jajalladēva's inscription.⁷ Jajalladēva was the king of Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala ruling at Ratanpur, and in his eulogy referred to above, he is stated to have "seized in battle Sōmēśvara, having slain an immense army." No details are given as to who Sōmēśvara was, but from synchronistic allusions it is apparent that he was identical with Sōmēśvara Sinda of Cakrakōṭa.

As to the list of the countries already mentioned above, Uḍra seems to be the old name of Orissa. Lāñji was a well-

(1) See *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 179.

(2) Buhler, *Vikramāṅkadēva-Charita*, IV, 20.

(3) *South Ind. Inscriptions*, I, p. 51.

(4) *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 25.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) See *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 26.

(7) *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 38.

known tract in the district of Bālāghāt and Ratanpura was the capital of the Haibāyas in Dakṣiṇa-Kosala.¹ Lemna may be Lavaṇa, the eastern tract of Raipura district, says Rāi Bahādur Hirālāl.² He further identifies Vajra with Wairagarh and Bhadrapaṭṭana with Bhunḍak.³

Some of the conquests described above brought so much of fame to Sōmēśvaradēva that he was known as a powerful monarch even in the distant parts of Southern Kārṇāṭaka. For we are told that the great Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana came in conflict with this Āndhra ruler. The epigraph tells us that Viṣṇuvardhana "with the sharpness of his sword terrified Sōmēśvara, the lord of the mighty celebrated Cakra-kōṭa."⁴ The inscription which refers to this conflict is dated in 1129 A.D. The reference here, therefore, is only to a past event, for we know that Sōmēśvara died in about 1100 A. D.

Sōmēśvara I was as efficient an administrator as he was a great soldier. He ably governed his kingdom till the end of his reign. In this task he was assisted by his ministers and generals who were men of exceptional ability. One of his records describes him as a "store-house of the statesmanship".⁵ That he possessed striking personality is evident from the fact that he is compared with the god of love in point of beauty.⁶

The records give the names of Sōmalā-Mahādēvi and Dharmā-Mahādēvi, the queens of Sōmēśvaradēva.⁷

Sōmēśvaradēva was succeeded by his son Kanharadēva in about 1100 A.D.⁸ It was in this reign that his grandmother Guṇḍa-Mahādēvi made the grant of the village Nārāyaṇapura to the "glorious god" Nārāyaṇ.⁹ Nārāyaṇapura

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 26.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*, pp. 26-28.

(4) *Ep. Car.*, VI, Mg. 22.

(5) *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 37.

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 33 and IV, p. 315.

(8) *Ibid.*, IX, p. 315.

(9) *Ibid.*

which is the present Nārāyaṇpāl, seems to have been an important place of pilgrimage in ancient times. We are told that, it was full of people that came from the various countries to see the deity which is described as "a ferry for crossing the ocean of transmigration and a basket full of the gems of knowledge who opens the bolt of heaven's door."

The next ruler of the dynasty seems so be Jayaśimhadēva who leaves a record of his reign¹. As the grant bears no date, it is not possible to settle the chronology of this king in the present stage of historical research. After Kanharadēva there is a blank of about 75 years in the history of the Sindas of Cakrakōṭa. This gap may perhaps be partly filled up by the rule of Jayaśimhadēva.

Jayaśimhadēva had two wives, namely, Lōka-Mahādēvi and "the great queen" Śaśāṇa-dēvi². His inscription is important inasmuch as it throws some side-light on the administrative system of the Bastar kings. The king was attended by five ministers who were called the *pañca-pradhānas*. They included the chief-minister, the grand-warden, the prince in charge of the whisk, and the lord of the intelligence department.

In 1208 A. D., we come across another Sinda king of Cakrakōṭa named Sōmēśvaradēva II who is mentioned with all the *Nāgavamśi* titles³. This Sōmēśvara II is the first king of the House to assume the *biruda* of *Cakravartin* or Emperor.⁴ This would lead us to the irresistible conclusion that he was recognised as the overlord by some feudatory chieftains. This surmise is supported by the mention of a *māṇḍalika* named Sōmarāja who was the subordinate of Sōmēśvaradēva's successor Naraśimhadēva⁵. It is quite possible that Sōmarāja was a feudatory under Sōmēśvaradēva also.

(1) *Ep. Ind.* IX, p. 315.

(2) *Ibid.*, X, p. 35.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 36.

(4) *Ibid.*, III, p. 318.

(5) *Ibid.*

Naraśimha-dēva was the son and successor of Sōmēśvara II.¹ He is referred to as the reigning prince in two inscriptions, the first dated in 1218 A. D. and the other in 1324.² We have no more historical information about the reign of this king.

After Naraśimhadēva there is again a blank of about 75 years in the history of the Cakrakōṭa rulers. In the first quarter of the fourteenth century, we come across another king named Hariścandra, who is mentioned as the ruler of Cakrakōṭa.³ His record being brief does not give any clue as to what family he belonged. But the editor of the inscription remarks that "until otherwise proved, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that he was of the same dynasty as the kings of Cakrakōṭa of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, namely, the Chinda or Sinda family of the *Nāga* race".⁴

The inscription that speaks about this ruler does not tell us in what year he came to the throne. We know, however, from the same record that he died in A. D. 1321, when his "chaste wife Māṇikyadēvi entered eternity by entering into fire"⁵. Accordingly, if we give him a rule of twenty-five years, we arrive at A. D. 1259 which might perhaps be the first year of his reign.

There is no further notice of the kings of this dynasty.

We said above that there was a minor Sinda house in the Cakrakōṭa Maṇḍala. The only king of that line who is known to us is Madhukarāntakadēva, the contemporary of the famous Sinda monarch Sōmēśvaradēva I. The earliest date assigned to him is in 1065 A.D.⁶

Madhukarāntakadēva seems to be the same person whom Sōmēśvara I claims to have killed.⁷ It appears that

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 42.

(3) *Ibid.*, X, p. 39.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 40.

(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

(4) *Ibid.*

(6) *Ibid.*, IX, p. 176.

(7) *Ibid.*, X, p. 26.

Madhukara, not being satisfied with his own territory, usurped the throne of his relatives, taking the opportunity of Dhāravarasadeva's death which must have occurred in about 1065 as already shown above. But Madhukara soon met a powerful rival in Sōmēśvara I, who having killed the usurper, regained his hereditary kingdom. It is perhaps for this reason that Sōmēśvara is described as having "acquired his kingdom by the force of his own arms".¹

The grant of Madhukara mentions the names of three princes, namely, *Kumāra* Kanhara-dēva, *Kumāra* Nāyaka and *Kumāra* Tuṅgarāja. It also mentions his queen Nāgula-Mahādēvi². We do not hear anything about these princes in later records. It seems that their territories were absorbed by the increasing kingdom of the major Sindas of Cakra-kōṭa under Sōmēśvara I, who was thus responsible for uniting both the Sinda States under one banner.

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 37.

(2) *Ibid.*, IX, p. 181.

PART IV

THE RATTAS OF SAUNDATTI AND BELGĀUM

CHAPTER I.

THE ORIGIN OF THE RATTAS.

The Nēsargi inscription of A. D. 1218 claims that the Raṭṭa princes belonged to the same lineage as Kṛṣṇa III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king who ruled from A. D. 940 to 956¹. The same assertion is repeated in the Haṇṇikēri record of A. D. 1257 in that part of it which is connected with the date of A. D. 1208. That part of the record places Kārtavīrya III in the continuous succession of Kṛṣṇa III,² using a word *san-tati*, which is often, and quite justifiably translated by "lineage, race, progeny, offspring." These two passages are quite open to the interpretation that Śēna II and his son Kārtavīrya III were actual descendants of Kṛṣṇa III. Thus we have a claim that the Raṭṭa princes of Saundatti belonged to the same lineage as the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III, and perhaps a claim that they were actually descended from him. As seen above, this claim is put forward only by the records of the thirteenth century; and what is more, the records of the earlier centuries are silent on the point. We, therefore, cannot at present finally decide how far the claim was based upon fact. It is quite possible that it was merely a later invention concocted for the purpose of edification. On the other hand, as the family name of the Maḷkhēḍ Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty is often presented to us in the form "Raṭṭa,"³ we cannot deny that the Raṭṭas belonged to the same clan as the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, though their claim of being actually descended from Kṛṣṇa III can no longer be accepted.

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 251.

(2) *Ind. Ant.*, XXXII, p. 217.

(3) *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 206; VI, p. 103; V, p. 194; IV, pp. 284, 282; V, p. 193; *Ind. Ant.*, XII, p. 256; *Ep. Car.*, II, 57.

Having indicated the racial relationship between the Raṭṭas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, let us now consider the question of nationality of both the families. Eminent scholars like Fleet, Burnell and Bhaṇḍārkar have advanced their own views regarding the origin of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. But the arguments brought forward by them are in no way convincing. They fail to bring us nearer to the solution. Before trying to put forward our own opinion on the subject, it is pertinent on our part to examine the views expressed by various historians.

Dr. Fleet is of the opinion that since the names Rāthōr and Rāthōḍ are to be derived from the term Rāṣṭrakūṭa, we may connect them with Rajputānā and Kanauj in the United Provinces, which seem to have been the original habitats of the Rāthōr clan of Rajputs.¹ But the fact that the Rāthōrs come to our notice much later than the Rāṣṭrakūṭa families of the Dekkan may lead us to the conclusion that the Rajput Rāthōrs were the descendants of some members of the Dekkan Rāṣṭrakūṭa families left behind in northern India during the northern campaigns of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. As to the origin of the Raṭṭas themselves, Dr. Fleet suggests that they belonged to some local division of the Redḍi tribe or caste, and adds that the attribution of them to the family of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings is based on nothing but the circumstances through which they rose to power.² This view of the learned doctor cannot be accepted unless it can be proved that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas themselves were Redḍis. Because, as we have already explained, it is impossible to deny the claim based on epigraphy that the Raṭṭas of Saundatti belonged to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa clan.

Dr. Burnell is, however, inclined to state that the Maḷkhēḍ Rāṣṭrakūṭas were Telugus and were of the same stock as the Redḍis of Āndhradēśa.³ This view is

(1) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 384.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 550.

(3) Dr. Burnell's view is cited by Edgar Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, III, pp. 225-226.

propounded without bringing forward any cogent argument. It is now universally admitted that the original place of the Redḍis, who are now scattered in the Karnāṭaka and Tamiḻ Nāḍ, was Āndhradēśa. If we assume with Dr. Burnell that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were the ancestors of modern Redḍis, their original home will have to be located in the Kṛṣṇā-Gōdāvari doab, where they would have first come into prominence. But history tells a different tale altogether. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa expansion never began from the Telugu country. What is more, most of the Telugu country was never included in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire. The Redḍis are not known to have distinguished themselves as a military or ruling class in any period of ancient South Indian history. It was only after the captivity of Pratāpa Rudra of Warrangal in A. D. 1323 by the Mahammadan Emperor Ghiyas-u-din Toghluq that the Redḍis are known to have founded a kingdom.¹ Under these circumstances, it is not possible to argue that the Redḍis are the modern representatives of the ancient Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

Dr. Bhaṇḍārkar says that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family in all likelihood was the main branch of the race of Kṣatriyas named Raṭṭas who gave their name to the country of Mahārāṣṭra, and adds that they were the real native rulers of the country.² Thus the learned doctor believes that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were the Kṣatriyas of Mahārāṣṭra. Mr. C. V. Vaidya goes a step further and holds that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Maḷkhēḍ were a Marāṭhi speaking family, and were the ancestors of the modern Marāṭhā family of Raṭakuṭē.³ As regards the relation between the Raṭṭas of Saundatti and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Maḷkhēḍ, Mr. C. V. Vaidya holds that the former were the descendants of the latter.⁴ We think that

(1) *Imperial Gazetteer*, VII, p. 158.

(2) Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 62.

(3) C. V. Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, II, p. 322-23.

(4) *Ibid.*, III, p. 288.

Mr. Vaidya's apparent view that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were a Marāṭhī speaking Marāṭhā family is absolutely wrong. We therefore proceed to show how it is so.

A survey of the early history of Dekkan shows that there were a number of Rathika families ruling over the Dekkan in feudatory capacity since the time of Aśoka. But it is usually supposed that the terms 'Rathī' and 'Mahārathī' were used to denote a tribal or ethnical stock and that the Mahārathī tribe was in power in Mahārāstra only. Both the views are the outcome of fertile imagination based on no historical facts.

We first take up the question whether the terms 'Rathī' and 'Mahārathī' denote an ethnical stock. The words which occur in the various caves of Kārli, Bhāja, Kāneri, Bedsā, and Nānā-ghāṭ are 'Mahārathī' and 'Mahārathini'. The word 'Mahārathī', as used in the cave inscriptions, plainly denotes the fact that it is employed to show the title of the donor. In the same way the word 'Mahārathini' denotes the position of the female donor as a wife or daughter of a Mahārathī. Moreover, the term 'Mahā' is used only as an honorific prefix to the term 'Rathī', just as 'Maha' is used in the term 'Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara'. That it was a practice in ancient times to do so is unequivocally proved by the fact that such titles do occur before the names of males and females who gave anything by way of gifts. The word 'Mahāsēnāpati' is used in the Nāsik inscription together with the term 'Mahāsēnāpatini' before a male and a female donor respectively.¹ In an inscription of 1108, we get the female form of Daṇḍanāyaka as Daṇḍanāyakī.² Similar is the case with 'Gauḍī' and 'Nāyaki' which occur in two Raṭṭa inscriptions.³

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 94.

(2) *Ibid.*, X, p. 254.

(3) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Sauvāḍattī and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S. X, pp. 218-254.

These instances are sufficient to show that Rathi and Mahārathi of ancient times are mere titles and not names denoting a tribe. The word Mahārathi simply means a warrior who fights from a chariot.¹ Hence, it is used as a *biruda* like Mahāsēnāpati, Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, etc.

As to the country where the Rathis and the Mahārathis were in power, there is definite evidence to show that some of them were occupying certain parts of Karnāṭaka. Lead coins, belonging to the third century A.D. and bearing the legend "Sadakana-Kaḷayā-Muhārathi", have been found near Citaldroog in the heart of Karnāṭaka.² The Hirahadagall, grant of Dharmamahārājādhirāja Śivaskandavarman is addressed among others to Rathikas.³ The Kānhēri records show that Nāgamūlanikā, who was married to a Mahārathi, was the daughter of Hāritiputra Viṣṇukada Cūṭusātakarṇ, who was a Kannaḍa prince at Banavāsi.⁴ We also know that some of the Muhārathis were Nāga-worshippers,⁵ a fact which would suggest that Mahārathis were spread in Karnāṭaka, the land where the nāga-worship was extensively practised by its early inhabitants. Under these circumstances, it can no longer be maintained that the Rathi and Mahārathi families were confined to Mahārāṣṭra only.

In our opinion, the Raṭṭas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were the descendants of some Rathika families that belonged to Karnāṭaka. There is no philological difficulty in postulating the derivation of Raṭṭa from Rathi. As to the term Rāṣṭrakūṭa, it is the Sanskrit form of Raṭṭa coined for the purpose of ornamentation. If the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Maḷkhād were the Rathikas of Mahārāṣṭra, we cannot explain how they became the patrons of Kannaḍa literature at the expense of Marāṭhi. Amōghavarṇa I was either himself the author or at least the inspirer of *Kavirāja-mūrga*, the oldest extant work in Kanna

(1) Apte, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 904.

(2) Rapson, *Catalogue of Indian Coins*, p. 57, Plate VIII, No. 233.

(3) *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 2. (4) Rapson, *Catalogue of Indian Coins*, p. LIII.

(5) *A. S. W. I.*, V, p. 86.

ḍa. The sign-manuals of some of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings of the Gujarāt branch are in Kannaḍa characters.¹ If the original home of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were in Mahārāṣṭra, as Dr. Bhaṇḍārkar and Mr. Vaidya would assume, it is difficult to explain how they could be using the script of Karnāṭaka even in Gujarāt. In the face of these facts, it would be simply ridiculous to hold that the Raṭṭas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were the ancestors of modern Marāṭhas speaking Marāṭhi. The ancestors of both the families were the original inhabitants of the Kannaḍa country, where they rose to local importance even as early as in the third century after Christ.

There is also further evidence to prove that the original home of the Raṭṭas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas was in the Kannaḍa speaking locality. Inscriptions of both the dynasties describe their kings as "supreme lord of Laṭṭanūra or Laṭṭalūra" as a hereditary title commemorative of the place which the families claimed as their original home. Laṭṭanūr is a purely Kannaḍa name, the appellation 'ūr' at the end of the word being Dravidian in origin. Laṭṭanūr seems to be the same as modern Laṭūr situated on the border of Karnāṭaka. Taking into consideration all these points, we conclude that the Raṭṭas of Saundatti were the original inhabitants of Karnāṭaka, speaking the Kannaḍa language.

The Raṭṭa chieftains of Saundatti, who had attained the honour of *pañcamahāśabda*, were heralded in the public by the sounds of the musical instruments called *Irivaḷi*, had the *Sindūra-lāñchana* or red-lead crest, and carried the *Suvarṇa-garuḍa-dhvaja* or banner of a golden *Garuḍa*, which device, instead of the crest according to the more usual custom, appears on the seal of the only Raṭṭa copper-plate charter that has come to light.²

(1) *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XX, p. 135; *Ind. Ant.*, XII, 157; XIV, p. 197.

(2) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, X, pp. 217, 231; *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 243.

CHAPTER II.

BEGINNING OF THE DYNASTY.

We have no information regarding the foundation of the Raṭṭa dynasty. It is, however, certain that the Raṭṭas were raised to the position of a ruling house during the days of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa supremacy. An inscription at Kaḷasāpur of A. D. 933, of the time of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda IV, mentions a Mahāsāmanta whom it describes as *Laṭṭanūra-pura-paramēśvara* and *Trivaḍi-paraghōṣaṇa*¹. These *birudas* are in perfect agreement with those of the later Raṭṭa chieftains, from which we safely infer that the Mahāsāmanta belonged to the Raṭṭa family. He is the first scion of the dynasty known to us. It cannot, however, be settled in paucity of materials whether he was the first of his line to be invested with the dignity of a Mahāsāmanta. We do not know also the territory over which he ruled. Nevertheless, judging from the place where his record was found, we may presume that he was associated with that part of Kuntala which now roughly corresponds to Gadag Tālukā of the Dhārwar District. It therefore seems quite improbable that his capital was Saundatti, which was not at all in the neighbourhood of Kaḷasāpur, the place where the inscription was discovered.

The next king in the Raṭṭa line is one Nanna, the father of Kārtavīrya I who lived in 980 A. D. It is said that Kārtavīrya I fixed the boundaries of the Kūṇḍi country² which after him became the hereditary domain of the Raṭṭas. We have seen above that the first known member of the Raṭṭa family had no geographical relations whatsoever with Kūṇḍi country. The way in which Kārtavīrya I was able to occupy almost the whole of the Kūṇḍi province is a pro-

(1) *Ep., Ind., VII*, p. 223, note 5.

(2) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, X., p. 201.

blem of great interest in the history of the dynasty. In order to have a full grasp of the subject, it is necessary to trace the history of the Kūṇḍī province during the period of about half a century that extended between 933 to 980.

Certain parts of the Kūṇḍī province, before the whole of it was occupied by the Raṭṭas, were under the rule of the Baisa family, a dynasty which rose to prominence under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III. Morada is the first member of the family known to us. He is mentioned as the father of Pṛthvirāma¹, who enjoyed the position of a great chieftain under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III.² We are told that, previous to his political elevation, Pṛthvirāma had been only a religious student in the Kārēya sect of the holy saint Mailāpatīrtha.³ He is described here as a Mahāsāmanta entitled to the honour of *pañcamahāsabha*.⁴ It is thus apparent that he was patronised and invested with the position and authority of a feudatory chieftain by Kṛṣṇa III. The fact that Pṛthvirāma built a temple of Jina in Sugandhavarti (Saundatti)⁵ would perhaps suggest that he made it the place of his residence.

Pṛthvirāma perhaps rose to prominence on account of his military skill which he must have showed in the war against the Cōḷas. It is known to us that Kṛṣṇa III fought and killed Rājāditya the Cōḷa king, the actual slayer being the Western Gaṅgā prince Būtuga.⁶ In recognition of this, Kṛṣṇa III gave to Būtuga the Banavāsi, the Puligere, the Belvola, the Kisukāḍ and the Bāgēnāḍ districts.⁷ It may be that on the same occasion, Pṛthvirāma was invested with the power of a feudatory chieftain, with Sugandhavarti as his capital. This surmise seems to be supported by epigraphs which tell us that Pṛthvirāma was "the beloved of the

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. S. B. R. A. S., X, p. 119.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 200.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 200.

(6) *Ep., Ind.*, II, p. 167

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 192.

(5) *Ibid.*

(7) *Ibid.*

goddess Bravery, a very thunderbolt to the mountains which were the hostile chieftains—the best of good warriors”, and “a very Rāma in War.”

Paṭṭiga was the son and successor of Pṛthvīrāma.² It is said of him that he was a very Vatsarāja among horsemen.³ Of him all that we are told is that he confronted and defeated a certain Ajavarman,⁴ who was forced to deliver up to him his property, his elephants, his lovely women, and his horses, “giving to him an elephant as a pledge of peace.” The reference here to lovely women is perhaps to dancing girls who were employed in the court of Ajavarman. The identity of Ajavarman cannot be known in the present stage of research. We have no more information about this king except that his wife was one Nijikabbe or Nijiyabbe whose virtues are highly extolled.⁵

Paṭṭiga was succeeded by his son Śāntivarma who is mentioned as a feudatory to the Western Cālukya king Taila II in A.D. 980.⁶ He is described as a Mahāsāmanta entitled to the honour of *pañcamahāśabda*.⁷ That Śāntivarma was an eminent ruler of the Baisa family is evident from the fact that he is styled “the son of the white lotuses of the race of Baisa.”⁸ His territory was, however, confined to the narrow limits of that portion of the country surrounding Saundatti. It was during this reign that the Raṭṭa chieftain Kārtavīrya II extended his influence over the Kūṇḍi province. Dr. Fleet is of the opinion that Kārtavīrya rose against Śāntivarma and eventually appropriated the entire Kūṇḍi province from that person.⁹ This view of the learned doctor does not seem to be supported by

(1) Fleet, O. C., pp. 200, 209.

(2) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, pp. 209.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 208.

(7) *Ibid.*

(8) *Ibid.*

(9) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 553.

inscriptions. Śāntivarman is not at all mentioned as ruling the entire Kūṇḍi province, though his capital was Saundatti. True, Kārtavīrya I became the "lord of the Kūṇḍi country" according to a record dated in A.D. 980. But this does not in any way mean that he acquired authority over the entire province at the expense of Śāntivarman. If Śāntivarman was really deprived of his kingdom and was thus humiliated by Kārtavīrya I, then the inscription of Saundatti, which is dated only five months after the Sōgal epigraph and which mentions Kārtavīrya as the lord of Kūṇḍi, would not have described Śāntivarman as a great soldier who is said to have been "the destroyer of the strength of others, the conqueror of his foes, a very Bhīma in causing fear to mankind, a very Rāma in the fierce fight, the ruler of rulers, a Bhārūṇḍa of his enemies."¹ The extract is indeed full of exaggeration and poetic fancy. Nevertheless, it cannot also be the description of a vanquished chieftain. In the face of this epigraphical evidence which testifies to Śāntivarman's military strength, it would be wrong to assume that he was deprived of his territories.

We have it on record that Śāntivarman built a Jain temple in Sugandhavarti.² This epigraph gives us the information that his chief queen was Caṇḍikabbe, "the ornament of the lovely women the Earth."³

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, pp. 208-209.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 211.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 209.

CHAPTER III.

NANNA.

From Nanna, also called Nannapayya-rāṇa and Kañthēya-bhārada Nannapayya, begins the continuous history of the famous Raṭṭa dynasty which held its sway over the Kūṇḍi province for a period of more than two hundred and fifty years. We have no inscriptions of this king, from which we deduce that his reign was a short one. As regards the chronology of this ruler, it may be inferred that he lived in the third quarter of the tenth century; for his son Kārtavīrya I was ruling as his successor in 980 A.D.¹

No historical facts are available of Nanna's reign. All we know about him is that he was the father of Kārtavīrya I.² It is, however, stated that Nanna was a skilful conversationalist and a man possessing beautiful personality.³

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 8.

(2) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, X, p. 201, 217.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 217.

CHAPTER IV

KĀRTAVĪRYA I.

Kārtavīrya I, also called Kaṭṭa¹, ascended the throne in about A.D. 975. The beginning of his reign witnessed the great political revolution effected in the history of Karnāṭaka by Taila II, who, having defeated the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kak-kala, retrieved the Cālukyan fortunes. Taila was an active and ambitious king. He not only recovered the imperial throne but also soon succeeded in bringing many feudatory families to his allegiance. Kārtavīrya was one of these chieftains who was compelled to acknowledge the suzerainty of the new Cālukyan Emperor. The Sōgal inscription dated in A.D. 980 explicitly states that Kārtavīrya was the subordinate of Taila II who is here styled *Bhujabala-cahravarti*, "the powerful emperor," or "an universal emperor from the strength of his arm."² By reading this epigraph one feels that Kārtavīrya was an able supporter of the aggressive policy pursued by his emperor.

King Kārtavīrya laid the foundation of the Raṭṭa dynasty on a firmer basis. In truth, it was he who, by extending his influence, carved out the Kūṇḍi province, and transmitted to his posterity a kingdom which increased in splendour and prosperity under succeeding reigns. This fact was so well remembered by the later Raṭṭa kings that a record, assigned to the closing years of the eleventh century, states that Kārtavīrya I fixed the boundaries of the country of Kūṇḍi.³ This must have happened prior to A.D. 980; for the Sōgal inscription dated in that year describes him as.

- (1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. E., R. A. S., X, p. 217.
Ep. Ind. XVI, pp. 7, 8.
- (2) *Ep. Ind.* XVI, pp. 4, 7.
- (3) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. E., R. A. S., X, p. 201.

"the exalted ruler of the circle of land of Kūṇḍi,"¹ which evidently is an indication of his having obtained the authority over the greater part of that province. It should not, however, be supposed that Kārtavīrya was the ruler of the whole of Kūṇḍi country. We have already shown in a previous chapter that Śāntivarman of the Baisa family, who was the contemporary of Kārtavīrya I, was holding a part of the Kūṇḍi province with Sugandhavarti as his capital. The statement that Kārtavīrya fixed the boundaries of the Kūṇḍi country only means that he secured for himself the greater portion of the province and had the boundaries of that part determined. At any rate, it is plain that Kārtavīrya was the real founder of the Raṭṭa kingdom.

In this connection, it is necessary to state the geographical limits of Kūṇḍi Threo-thousand province of the Raṭṭas. From inscriptions we know that the Kūṇḍi country, which now roughly corresponds to the greater part of the Belgāum District and some of the neighbouring territory, included, towards the north, Tērdal² the head-quarters of the Tērdal sub-division of the Sāṅgli State, about fifty-six miles almost due north-east from Belgāum. According to Dr. Fleet, the Kūṇḍi of the Raṭṭas was bounded on the north by the Kṛṣṇā and the Dūdhgaṅgā and on the west by a line which left close on the west of Bhōj and, following for a short distance the course of the Vēdgaṅgā, then left the river, and ran irregularly southwards on the west of Nippāni and Saṅkēśwar and the east of Hurli towards Belgāum.³ It is important to remember that Sugandhavarti, which in course of time became the capital of the Raṭṭas and consequently of the Kūṇḍi country, was in the hands of Śāntivarman during the reign of Kārtavīrya I. The capital of Kārtavīrya was

(1) *Ep., Ind.* XVI, p. 8.

(2) *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, pp. 21, 25.

(3) Fleet, *Notes on Indian History and Geography*, *Ind. Ant.*, XXIX, p. 279; *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, pp. 7, 8.

perhaps the town of Sōlu, Sōval or Sōl which is mentioned in the record found in that place. It was the chief town of the division known after its name, and is represented by modern Sōgal which is about twelve miles north-west of Saundatti.

Kārtavīrya I seems to have patronised the Kannada poet Kumalāditya who wrote the Sōgal inscription in A. D. 980.¹ In this connection, it is interesting to note that the emperor of Kārtavīrya, namely, Taila II was the patron of the 'poet-emperor' Kanna who has bequeathed to us the sublime *kāvya* called *Gadāyuddha*.

(1) *Ep., Ind.*, XVI, pp. 7, 8.

CHAPTER V.

DĀVARI AND KAṆṆAKAIRA I.

Kārtavīrya I was succeeded by his eldest son Dāviri or Dāyima.¹ No historical details are available about him, and there are no records of his reign. The Saundatti inscription of Kārtavīrya II describes him as "the Mēru of the Rattas,"² and says that his reign was full of glory, brilliance and fame. "His power and his pleasing energy, in many ways, set his mark upon the world; how shall I describe him in the circle of the earth?" asks the composer of the epigraph.³ In another record it is expressly stated that in king Dāviri his people had a good ruler.⁴

We may suppose that he died in about A. D. 1015, whereupon his younger brother Kaṇṇakaira ascended the throne of Kūṇḍi.

Of Kaṇṇakaira I, also called Kaṇṇa,⁵ we have no records and hence no historical facts. It is, however, stated that he was a king of liberal disposition,⁶ which perhaps indicates that the people were taxed lightly. As regards the chronology of this ruler, it may be inferred that he died in or about 1030, for the earliest inscription of his son's reign is dated in A. D. 1040.⁷

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, pp. 217, 218.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 218

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 201.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 218

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) *Ind. Ant.*, XXIX, p. 161.

CHAPTER VI

ERAGA.

Kaṇṇakaira I was succeeded by his eldest son Eraga or 'Erega.'¹ In the Maṇṭūr inscription dated in 1040, Eraga is mentioned as the subordinate of the Western Cālukya king Jayaśimha II² who reigned from A.D. 1018 to 1042. The times of Jayaśimha are important in the sense that the Cōḷa occupation of Nōlambavāḍi province was ended by him.

King Eraga seems to be a very successful ruler. The epithet *Siṅga-Garuḍa* (Garuda of Siṅga or Jayaśimha) accorded to him³ evidently indicates that he was an able supporter of Jayaśimha II in his imperial policy. Such titles in the ancient history of Karnāṭaka are so important that they usually bear indirect references to some great political event, especially a war. In fact, such *birudas* coined after an emperor's name were conferred upon the feudatory chieftains very occasionally. It was not possible for an ordinary Māṇḍalika to possess them, unless he had distinguished himself by virtue of his military genius displayed by him on a critical occasion when the empire itself was in danger. We have seen elsewhere that, when the Hoysaḷas, the Gōḷa Kadambas and the Pāṇḍyas threatened the very integrity of the Cālukyan Empire at the close of Vikrama's reign, it was Ācugi II, the great chieftain of the *Siṇḍavamaśa*, who saved the whole situation, by defeating all of them.⁴ In recognition of his great services, Ācugi was granted the title *Tribhuvanamallakēśarin* or the lion of Tribhuvanamalla-dēva Vikramaditya VI.

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, pp., 201, 218

(2) *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 165.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Siṇḍavamaśa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, pp. 234, 244.

We, therefore, rightly believe that the *biruda* 'Siṅgaṇa-Garuḍa' accorded to Eraga is an indication of a similar service rendered by him to his emperor Jayaśimha II. This surmise of ours seems to be supported when we are told that the Mahāsāmantas and the Māṇḍalikas of Jayaśimha once proved hostile to him and that he was saved from their treachery by Daṇḍanāyaka Kālidāsa, his chief minister.¹ Who these feudatories were we are not able to say with certainty at the present stage of historical research. Nevertheless, our opinion is that Saṣṭha-dēva II of the Gōā Kadamba line, who had made himself a very powerful chieftain by annexing to his kingdom almost the whole of the Southern Silāhāra territories and a part of the Northern Silāhāra districts,² perhaps rose in revolt against his overlord Jayaśimha II. This he could do in about 1039 A. D. when Jayaśimha was busily engaged in fighting the Cōlas, who under Rājādhirāja burnt Kampili, the provincial capital of the Cālukyas.³ At any rate, it is plain that Jayaśimha II was once in a serious trouble which he overcame with the help of his minister. It is quite possible that Eraga also rendered some meritorious service on this occasion, and earned the admiration of his overlord who, in recognition of it, must have bestowed the *biruda* on his faithful vassal.

The Maṇṭūr inscription states that Eraga was the sun of the Raṭṭas, a hero in the clash of enemies, a very sun among brave men and one who destroyed the armies of heroes.⁴ We may deduce from these remarks that he fought successfully with his neighbours and extended the boundaries of his kingdom. These conquests probably resulted in the annexation of a part of the Southern Silāhāra territories, most of which was then newly acquired by the Kadamba king Saṣṭha-dēva II. This fact, however, should not lead us

(1) *Mys. Arch. Report.*, 1914-15, Para 71.

(2) Moraes, *Kadamba-Kula*, pp. 172-173.

(3) Hayavadana Rao, *Mysore Gazetteer*, II, Part II, p. 780.

(4) *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 165.

to conclude that Ēraga always acted in the offensive. Far from it. The same record describes him as one who "protects his country," which shows that he had to contend with aggressive enemies. The fact that Ēraga was a successful ruler in his external policy is evidenced by his very *virudas* 'Ratta-Nārāyaṇa, Ratta Mārāṇḍa and Siṅgana-Garuḍa.'¹ These are evidently indications of his increasing authority and his vigorous personality.

The inscriptions highly extol the personal accomplishments of Ēraga. They are unanimous in declaring that he was well versed in fine arts. The Maṇṭūr record calls him the ear-ornament of the Goddess of learning. (*Sarasvatī Karṇa-Kuṇḍalam*), while both the Saundattī records that refer to him state that he was acquainted with the science of music.² What is more, one of them declares in somewhat exaggerated phraseology that king Ēraga was "a very lotus-born in respect of his acquaintance with all incomparable accomplishments".³

The Maṇṭūr epigraph referred to above mentions the *Uroḍḍya* Madhusūdanayya of that village who is said to have acquired for a tank a liberal grant from king Ēraga.⁴

(1) *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 165.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundattī and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, pp. 201, 218.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 218.

(5) *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 165.

CHAPTER VII.

AṆKA.

When Eraga died, his son Sēna I was a child. Hence his younger brother Aṅka ascended the throne of Kūṇḍi.¹ This event seems to have taken place in about 1045. By the time Aṅka became king, the famous town of Sugandhavarti had come in the possession of the Raṭṭas. We have seen in a previous chapter that during the reign of Kārtavīrya I, the founder of the Kūṇḍi kingdom, Sugandhavarti was the capital of Śāntivarma, the last known king of the Baisa family. It seems likely that some near successor of Śāntivarma having no issues, the entire province of Kūṇḍi came to be appropriated by some Ratta king. When precisely this event happened we have no means to settle. However, the fact that Sugandhavarti is mentioned as the capital of Aṅka in an inscription of A.D. 1149² may lead us to infer that it was the famous king Eraga who first obtained it in about A.D. 1141, a few days before the death of Jayaśimha II. The establishment of Sugandhavarti as the Raṭṭa capital marks an important date in the annals of the Kūṇḍi province.

The period of Aṅka's rule was full of troubles, as the Cōḷas made incessant inroads in the Cālukyan dominions. That the Raṭṭas were exposed to their formidable attacks is evident from the fact that the Cōḷas are said to have penetrated so far north as Kidrāpur, thirty miles east by south of Kolhāpur.³ Here on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā a great battle was fought in about 1050 A. D.⁴ It was apparently a deci-

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. E. R. A. S., X, p. 218.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 172.

(3) See *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 298.

(4) See Hayavadana Rao, *Mysore Gazetteer*, Part II, p. 782.

sive battle, and hence we do not hear for a time the Cōla attempts against Sōmēśvara I, the Cālukyan Emperor. King Aṅka, who was the feudatory of Sōmēśvara I,¹ must have had a trying time. The Saundatti record describes him as a fierce fire to his enemy and as the sun of infinite glory, and further asks "who is bold enough to withstand king Aṅka in war?"² We may deduce from these remarks that Aṅka was successful in driving out the Cōlas from his kingdom, without the country being much plundered. In fact, this inference seems to be supported when we do not come across any epigraphical references to the Cōla ravages in Kūṇḍi province, whereas we do come across them in connection with the neighbouring provinces.

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Rājā Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 172.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 218.

CHAPTER VIII.

SĒNA I.

Sēna I, also known as Śrī-Kālasēna¹, was the son of Eraga². We said in the last chapter that Sēna was a child when his father died. Aṅka, the uncle and predecessor of Sēna, having died after a rule of twenty years, the latter succeeded to the Raṭṭa throne in about A. D. 1065. As Aṅka had no issues, Sēna's succession to the throne was entirely undisputed.

No inscription of this king has come down to us. The little we know of him is derived from the Saundatti lithic record of his younger son Kārtavīrya II. He was the contemporary of Sōmēśvara I and Sōmēśvara II.

Sēna I is described as "having his body thrilled with the embraces of the lovely woman Bravery".³ This remark, together with similar praises, clearly shows that he was a warrior of some repute. The second part of the praise, namely that he was "acting as a torch to guide mankind by reason of his truth, would undoubtedly suggest that he was not only a warrior but also an efficient and impartial administrator, who was looked upon as a model ruler by his subjects.

We said above that we do not possess any grants of this king. From this it is also possible to deduce that his reign was a very short one. We would have had at least one grant if he had ruled for a longer period.

We have no more information about this king except that his wife was Mañjalādēvi.⁴

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 201.

(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 201, 218.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 218.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 201.

CHAPTER IX.

KANNAKAIRA II.

Sēna I having died in 1068, his son Kannaikaira II, also called Kanna, began ruling in conjunction with his younger brother Kārtavīrya II. In this chapter we restrict ourselves to Kannaikaira, leaving Kārtavīrya II to be dealt with separately in the next chapter.

The Tidgundi copper-plate grant of A. D. 1082 describes Kannaikaira as one "who touches the breasts of the woman of Lāṭa".¹ This perhaps suggests that he was married to a daughter of the Lāṭas. If so, there is reason to believe that he, along with Jayakēśi I the Kadamba king of Gōā, led an expedition into the Lāṭa kingdom, and on this occasion was perhaps offered a princess after the conclusion of peace. The statement in a Kadamba record that Jayakēśi "killed the pride of the best of the Lāṭas"² supports our view that both Kannaikaira and Jayakēśi led an inroad into their territories.

The above inscription describes Kannaikaira as "the beloved of the fortune of heroes, the god of death to hostile forces, the hurricane to scatter the mass of cloud—mighty chieftains, the lion to the elephants—hostile chieftains, the hunter of chieftains, the fresh essence of the god of love, the passion of warriors, the champion of Rēvaṇadēva, the instructor of what is beneficial to his master". It may be inferred from the last epithet that Kannaikaira was a great statesman whose advice was sought even by his emperor. Rēvaṇadēva referred to in the above extract may be identified with Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rēvarasa, with the title "lord of Māhiṣmati, the best of towns", governing in the neighbourhood of Kembhāvi.³ The remark that Kanna was the champion of Rēvaṇadēva implies that he rendered disting-

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 311.

(2) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Gōā*, J. B. B. R. A. S., IX, p. 272.

(3) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 439.

ished services to his neighbour. It is further said of him that he was "of unshaken firmness,—the unique friend of good men, Dharma's son in righteousness, Rādhā's son in truthfulness, a Rēvanta in the management of horses, a lion in prowess".¹ These praises, though marred by exaggeration, should not be supposed as empty boasts of the writer who composed the inscription. For the epigraph was written by a deputy of the Sandhivigrahin of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Muñja of the Sindavamśa,² altogether a different family.

It is interesting to note that Kaṇṇa is the first chieftain of the Raṭṭa dynasty to assume the title of a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara. This information is supplied to us by the Konṇūr inscription dated in A.D. 1087.³ He was raised to this position somewhere between 1082 to 1087. This we deduce from the Tidgundi copper-plate of 1082, in which Kaṇṇa is mentioned as merely a *Sāmānta* or *Mahāsāmānta*.⁴

Kaṇṇakaira II seems to have died in about A.D. 1090, though we have no direct mention as to when or where his death occurred. He seems to have been an able ruler. The kingdom under him enjoyed the blessings of peace, and gave abundant opportunities for building temples and providing for their maintenance. We have it on records that king Kaṇṇakaira made liberal grants to temples.⁵ He was a serious student of religion and philosophy. His religious preceptor Kanaka-Prabhasiddhāntadēva, being acquainted with the three *Vēdas* and versed in all the sacred writings, was famous throughout the country.⁶ The times being peaceful, fine arts must have received special attention at the hands of both the ruler and the ruled. Thus, for example, Kaṇṇa himself is said to have been skilled in dancing, music and other allied arts.

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 311.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J.B.B.R.A.S., X, p. 198.

(4) *Ep., Ind.*, III, p. 311.

(5) Fleet, O.C., pp. 199, 202, 298.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 202.

CHAPTER X.

KĀRTAVĪRYA II.

Kārtavīrya II was the younger brother of Kaṇṇakaira II. Both the brothers seem to have ruled conjointly from the very beginning, that is, from A.D. 1068. Kaṇṇa, as remarked in the last chapter, having died in A.D. 1090, Kārtavīrya II became the supreme ruler of the Kūṇḍī Three-thousand country.

Kārtavīrya was a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI for the greater part of his reign. The very fact that he was recognised as the joint ruler by his brother Kaṇṇa speaks well of the former's ability as a governor and the latter's statesmanship as a king. Kārtavīrya appears to have been taking active part in the administration of the country even in his father's life-time. What is more, he proved himself so worthy of the task entrusted to him that he eventually came to be popularly known by the title *Sēnana Siṅga*, "the lion of Sēna." Sēna I was the father of Kārtavīrya.¹ Thus, it was his own merit that enabled him to share the authority of kingship with his elder brother, though he was not legally entitled to it according to Hindu traditions.

That Kārtavīrya II was more popular than his brother among his subjects is borne out by a Saundatti inscription which extols his qualities in higher terms than those of his brother Kaṇṇa. We are told that Kārtavīrya was a very ocean in profundity and a very Mandāra in majesty.² The latter part of the remark indicates that he had a very power-

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J.B.B.R.A.S., X, p. 202.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 317; *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 24.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 202.

ful and attractive personality. In another place, he is compared to Kāmadēva in point of beauty.¹

It is of interest to note that Kārtavīrya is the first chieftain of the dynasty to be described with such hereditary titles as "the great chieftain who has attained the *pañcamahāsabdas*, the best lord of Laṭṭanūrapura, he who is sung to with the musical instrument called *trivaṇi*, the owner of the banner of the Golden Garuḍa."²

Records unanimously speak of this king as a great soldier and a just ruler. He was "a warrior in the right sense of the word, full of daring, the lion of Sēna."³ Again, we are told that he was "fierce in war and as brave as Vṛkōdara (Bhīma) in fighting with his enemies".⁴

We have seen in the last chapter that the joint reign of Kaṇṇa and Kārtavīrya enjoyed the blessings of peace, which is so essential for the cultural and commercial development of a people. Like Kaṇṇa, Kārtavīrya too is recorded to have made liberal endowments to temples.⁵ It is said in one place that Goṅka, at the command of Kārtavīrya, erected a temple called Goṅka-Jinālaya in the centre of his capital Tēridaḷa, and established under his master's (Kārtavīrya's) auspices an image of "the glorious" Tīrthaṅkara Nēminātha.⁶

The Tēridaḷ inscription records that the northern part of the Kūṇḍi kingdom owed a substantial part of its cultural prosperity to the patronage of Goṅka, a subordinate chieftain of Kārtavīrya. He was entrusted with the government of Tēridaḷa Twelve District. Goṅka was a great patron of

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, X, p. 201.

(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 201-217; *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, pp. 23-24.

(3) *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 24.

(4) Fleet, *O. C.*, p. 217.

(5) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S. X, pp. 200-201.

(6) *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 24.

Jainism. The epigraph would have us believe that he contributed a good deal to the advancement of that creed. In fact, he is called the virtuous champion of Jainism.¹ "Causing a shining Jaina temple to be erected at Tēridaḷa, he raised the triumphant banner, and hung on the tusks of the elephants of the quarters a string of letters announcing to the world the greatness of his process".²

Kārtavīrya ruled for a considerably long time. Up to A. D. 1090 he was ruling conjointly with his elder brother. One stone record at Saundattī, which describes him as a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara and a feudatory of Sōmēśvara II, is assigned to about A. D. 1069 by Dr. Fleet.³ The earliest date we have for Sēna II, the son and successor of Kārtavīrya, is A. D. 1096.⁴ This would perhaps show that Kārtavīrya died in 1095 or thereabout after a reign of about twenty-five years.

Bhāgalādēvi, also called Bhāgalāmbikā, was the wife of Kārtavīrya. She is described as "the mother of the universe, the first of good people shining as the lovely woman of the bosom of Kāṭṭa"⁵—(Kārtavīrya).

(1) *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 22.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 554.

(4) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundattī and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 202.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 219.

CHAPTER XL

SĒNA II.

Sēna II was the son and successor of Kārtavīrya II.¹ The earliest date in A. D. 1096, cited in the twenty-first year of Vikramāditya VI, is furnished for him in one of the Saundatti records.² Thus, the period to which Sēna belongs is an important one in the history of Karnāṭaka which then saw the acme of Cālukyan greatness as well as the increasing influence of the Hoysaḷas under Viṣṇuvardhana the great.

The Kōnūr inscription mentions Sēna as the subordinate of Jayakarna³ who, as the eldest son of Vikramāditya VI, was invested with a share in the imperial government as *Yuvārāja* during the life time of his father. Jayakarna was the Cālukyan viceroy according to inscriptions found in the Bijāpur and Belgāum Districts and the Nizām's Dominions, dated in 1102, 1120 and 1121 A. D. respectively.⁴ He was in charge of the central parts of his father's kingdom. As no inscriptions of his reign have been found after 1121 A. D., Dr. Fleet has rightly suggested that he died before his father.⁵

The chief political event of Sēna's reign was the rise of the Hoysaḷas who, under Viṣṇuvardhana, drove the Cōḷas out of Talakāḍ and defeated, as we have seen elsewhere, Vikramāditya's troops at Kaṇṇēgaḷa near Hāssan. In order to protect his Empire from the aggressive policy of Viṣṇuvardhana, whose independence was virtually recognised, Vikramāditya appointed efficient commanders all over the Empire who were instructed to work in full harmony with

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S. X., pp. 202, 219.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 202.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 293.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 287; *Carn. Des. Inscriptions*, I. pp. 416, 577, referred to by Dr. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 455.

(5) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 455.

the provincial viceroys and feudatory chieftains. One such commander was Cāmaṇḍa styled a Daṇḍanāyaka of Jayakarna who was in charge of the Kūṇḍi province, which was then ruled by Sēna II. One who reads the Koṇṇūr inscription referred to above feels that Cāmaṇḍa was a powerful commander of the forces, who in conjunction with Sēna II, had rendered distinguished services to the Cālukyan Emperor. It is said of him that he was "the favourite of the lovely woman Great Fame, the staff of whose arm was the lovely Woman Victory, and a very mace in dealing death in war."¹

Towards the end of Vikramāditya's reign in about 1117 A. D., the Hoysalas, the Gōṣa Kadambas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Karāḍ Silāhāras rose in revolt against their emperor,² who had then much advanced in age. But no lasting injury was done to the integrity of the Empire owing to the timely help rendered by the Sinda chieftain Ācugi II.³ It was through the instrumentality of Ācugi that the Empire was saved, and due credit must be given to the brave Sinda chieftain for that. But at the same time, the historian can hardly believe that a mere chieftain, however powerful he might have been, could bring to bay single handed four Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras named above. We are, therefore inclined to believe that the Raṭṭa chieftain, who was holding the central part of the Cālukyan Empire, had his due share in the act of quelling the disturbances, so far as they affected the Kadamba and Silāhāra territories, adjoining the Kūṇḍi kingdom. This view of ours is confirmed when we are told that Sēna's "arm was an excellent staff for the game of striking the pitch-balls that were the heads of his proud and brave enemies" and that "his prosperity was the cause of happiness of all mankind."⁴

(1) Feet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X., pp. 293-94.

(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 234, 244, 269.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 294.

That both Sēna II and the Daṇḍanāyaka Cāmaṇḍa rendered meritorious services to the Empire in that critical juncture is further evidenced by the extract which says: "While Cāmaṇḍa, being, like a lordly elephant, the delightful and brilliant lustre of his auspicious and strong right hand, taming with his prowess the infuriated female elephants that were the hostile warriors, was abiding in his assembly, and while king Sēna, governing the earth with awards of severe punishment to the wicked and protection to the good, was ruling most excellently."¹

It must be admitted that Sēna II was one of the great rulers of the Raṣṭa family. It is perhaps for this reason that the later records open the Raṣṭa genealogy only from Sēna II. Thus, the two Belgāum inscriptions,² namely, the Kulhōḷi inscription³ and the Nēsarige inscription⁴, all belonging to the reign of Kārtavīrya IV, open with the mention of Sēna II, whose qualities are properly extolled in them. "O Sēna, king esteemed the first among good warriors and chieftains in the path of war: how can we wonder at thy success?"⁵ says the Nēsarige record. Sēna must have proved himself both popular and successful as a ruler. It is said that all people praised him, saying in their joy, "This is the husband of the Earth, which has now indeed a lord".⁶

In ancient Kurnāṭaka the king was not only the head of the State but was also recognised as the head of the Society. It was this popular conception of kingship that almost compelled our ancient rulers to become liberal patrons of art, literature and religion. Sēna, true to this ancient ideal, must have spent a considerable portion of the State's income in advancing the cultural aspect of the people. Hence he, "enjoying the embraces of the goddess of knowledge", possessed a large court in whose midst he shone 'with a

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṣṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgāum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X., p. 294. (2) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 15.

(3) Fleet, O. C., p. 229. (4) *Ibid.*, p. 250. (5) *Ibid.*, p. 202.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 251.

lustre like that of the sun."¹ Sēna, we are told, was a great friend of the learned men and was very liberal to them.² In another place, he is called "the granter of boons to good people."³

In the administrative sphere Sēna II was equally fortunate. We are informed that he was endowed with the qualities of the regal attributes of power, wisdom and perseverance⁴ which are so essential in the case of a successful ruler. Sēna is also described as the husband of the lovely woman Authority,⁵ which evidently indicates his stronghold on the minds of the people.

The Kulhōli inscription discloses the name of Laksmī-dēvi, the wife of Sēna II⁶.

Towards the close of Sēna's reign, that is, in A. D. 1129, we come across a Raṭṭa Mahāsāmanta named Aṅki-dēva who is mentioned in the Khānapūr inscription.⁷ This person, though a Raṭṭa, was not very closely related to the ruling line. Because none of the records discloses his place in the Raṭṭa genealogy. Moreover, as he is styled only a Mahāsāmanta, he cannot be the successor of Sēna II by whose time the Raṭṭas came to be possessed the highest feudatory title Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara. At any rate, it is plain that he was a Raṭṭa scion who must have been either a minor feudatory or a high official of Vikramāditya's successor Sōmēśvara III.

Sēna's rule extended for a long period of about thirty-five years. His reign, on the whole, was a prosperous one. He was evidently a great king of the line. Though distracted by political disturbances in the middle part of his reign, he conferred the blessings of peace on his kingdom.

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 229. (2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 294. (4) *Ibid.* (5) *Ibid.*, p. 229. (6) *Ibid.*

(7) *Carn Dasa, Inscriptions*, p. 261; referred to by Dr. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 555.

CHAPTER XII.

KĀRTAVĪRYA III.

With the accession of Kārtavīrya III or Kaṭṭama to the Kūṇḍi throne began a new epoch in the annals of the Raṭṭa family. Though we do not know the exact year of his coronation, it may be safely presumed that he became king in about 1130. It is evident from inscriptions that the power of the Raṭṭas reached its greatness during the reign of this monarch. The records speak of him as a feudatory of the Western Cālukyan Emperors during the first half of his reign.¹ There was nothing noteworthy to be recorded about Kārtavīrya's reign as long as Sōmēśvara III and Perma-Jagadēkanallu II were at the helm of the imperial affairs.

The succession of Taila III to the Cālukyan throne in A. D. 1151 marks a very important stage in the history of the Dekkan and consequently in the annals of the Raṭṭa family. Taila had not been long on the throne when he was eclipsed by one of his high officials Bijjala. Indeed, there is very reason to believe that under Taila III, the Cālukyan power, which had reached its zenith in the reign of Vikramāditya VI, began rapidly to decline. This presented a very favourable opportunity to the more ambitious Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras to free themselves of the Western Cālukyan control. The Cālukyan Empire was completely overturned by Bijjala in or about 1162 A. D., when he assumed the full paramount epithets of *Samasta-bhuvanāśraya Śrī Pṛthvī Vallabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Parama Bhaṭṭāraka*.² There were, however, still a few adherents of Taila III among his Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras, while a few more recognised Bijjala and acted under him as feudatory

(1) Carn. Des. Inscriptions, I, p. 547; referred to by Dr. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 555.

(2) *Rice, Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 92.

chiefs.¹ But Kārtavīrya III, on the other hand, seems to have aimed at a higher status, and hence was enthusiastically engaged in the task of setting himself as an independent power. It was perhaps for this reason that he established a temporary second capital at Nēsarge, a few miles north-west of Sugandhavarti. At any rate, it is plain from an inscription dated in A. D. 1162 that Kārtavīrya III was then ruling from that place.² But his efforts towards establishing independence were not crowned with success at least for the first few years. It is known for certain that he was forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Kālacūryas by the end of A. D. 1164. We are informed by a Kālacūrya inscription of 1165 that Kārtavīrya III was a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of Bijjala who is therein described as reigning over the whole world with one umbrella of sole sovereignty, after having subdued all kings.³

It was perhaps largely due to the assistance of the Silāhāra king Vijayāditya that Kārtavīrya III was brought under the Kālacūrya allegiance. The copper-plate charter of Bhōja II clearly tells us that it was through the friendship and assistance of Vijayāditya that Bijjala attained sovereignty.⁴ Though the full bearing of this statement is not clear, it is now definitely known from the Ēkasambī inscription that Vijayāditya pursued a policy of aggressiveness towards the Raṭṭas and encroached on the northern part of their territory.⁵ We are told that a general of the Silāhāra king erected a temple of Nēminātha at Ekkasambuge in the Kūṇḍi province—a statement which evidently indicates that some portions of the Cikkōḍi Tālukā were lost to the Raṭṭas

(1) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, pp. 460-461.

(2) *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, II, p. 548; referred to by Dr. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 555.

(3) *Carn. Desa. Inscriptions*, II, p. 90; referred to by Dr. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 476.

(4) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 548.

(5) *Mysore Arch. Dept. Report for 1916*, pp. 48-49.

in this reign. In this record, we are incidentally introduced to Kārtavīrya III who, it is said, hearing the fame of the Nēminātha temple, paid a visit to the *basadi*, and made a grant to provide for worship, music and food for ascetics.

Nevertheless, the ambitious Raṭṭa Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara did not give up all hopes of establishing the independence of his family. In fact, he was eagerly waiting for an opportunity to free himself of the Kālacūrya control. This opportunity presented itself when Sōmēśvara IV, with the active assistance of his commander Bamma, began a counter-revolution with a view to retrieve the lost Cālukyan fortunes. Moreover, the successors of Bijjala did not prove themselves as capable as he, and thus the way was opened for a Raṭṭa revolt which eventually ended in the establishment of its independence. There is a record at Konṇūr,¹ which describes Kārtavīrya not only as a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, but also as a Cakravarti or Emperor. The date of the inscription, which appears to have been that of the reign of Kārtavīrya and not of the *Saka* era, is effaced and quite illegible. This record which should undoubtedly be referred to a later period than the others, indicates very plainly that at some period after A. D. 1165, taking advantage of the general confusion that prevailed during the decline of the Kālacūrya power and during the time when the Kālacūryas and the Hoysaḷas were disputing the possession of the southern provinces, Kārtavīrya established the independence of his family. However, the date of the Raṭṭa independence may be fixed somewhere about the year 1179-1180 A. D.

Though Kārtavīrya was so far successful in his attempts, he seems to have somewhat failed towards the end of his reign in maintaining his independence. The Tērdal inscription discloses this fact when it says that in A. D. 1187, a certain Bhāyidēva Daṇḍanāyaka of the Western Cālukyan

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 181.

Emperor Sōmēśvara IV, was the viceroy of the Kūṇḍī province which had been given to him by the king as a reward for defeating certain enemies.¹ It can be easily pointed out that Sōmēśvara IV owed his success against the Raṭṭas to this Daṇḍanāyaka, the commander of the forces. The inscription records that "the fearless Bhāyidēva, the son of Tējugi, the leader of forces, having bravely defeated those foes who opposed him in the field of battle, and having without disgust, killed the remaining enemies who were timid and of less note, ruled peacefully over the Kūṇḍī Three-thousand province conferred upon him by the lord of Kuntala".²

The foes of Bhāyidēva referred to in the above extract must have been the Raṭṭa king Kārtavīrya III and the Hāṅgal Kalamba king Kāmadēva, both of whom were made to acknowledge the suzerainty of Sōmēśvara IV. An inscription of Kāmadēva dated in 1189 refers to Sōmēśvara as his overlord.³ This view is further confirmed by the Tērdal inscription which adds that Bhāyidēva drove away the confederacy of hostile kings.⁴ The confederacy cannot possibly be any other than the one which seems to have been formed by the Raṭṭas and the Hāṅgal Kadambas. The "enemies of less note," who are reported to have been killed by Bhāyidēva, were undoubtedly the petty local chiefs subordinate to the Raṭṭas and the Kadambas. It is thus plain that Kārtavīrya III was not altogether successful in what he accomplished or aimed at. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that he was the first Raṭṭa king who, though for a short period, enjoyed the status of independence, a position which his successors recovered and maintained till the middle of the thirteenth century which witnessed the final disappearance of the Raṭṭa dynasty.

The Tērdal inscription which was set up in A. D. 1187 would have us believe that the Kūṇḍī kingdom was well cultivated under Kārtavīrya's rule and that the people were

(1) *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 26.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 179.

(4) *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 26.

happy and prosperous. The Tēridaḥ Twelve District, says the epigraph, shone with incomparable and fragrant rice-fields, forests, lakes, tanks, groups of hill forts and forts built in the forest and water, and ditches, with the dwellings of the learned, the temples, and markets.¹ As regards the whole Kūṇḍi Three-thousand Province, we are told that it was "adorned with villages, towns, hamlets, villages surrounded by hills, groups of villages, sea-girt towns, and chief cities, with elegant mansions, palaces and temples and with shining *agrahāra-towns*."² The commercial prosperity of the times is attested to by the fact that there was a class of merchants called the *gatrīgas*, trading on the great road between Tēridaḥ and the Palasiga Twelve-Thousand Province.³ The city of Tēridaḥ may be taken as the typical commercial town in Kūṇḍi in those days. It is said of that town that it was "filled with money changers, adorned with much corn, milk, new ornaments, various cloths, with heaps of jewels and a mass of gold."⁴

The name of Kārtavīrya III was remembered with pride by the succeeding monarchs of the family. This was mainly due to the fact that he was known as the daring chieftain who aimed at the Raṭṭa independence and who succeeded to certain extent in maintaining it. Thus for instance, the Kālḥōḷi grant of his grand-son Kārtavīrya IV records the achievements of Kaṭṭama in exaggerated language. Kaṭṭama, it says, who was pre-eminent among the lords of the earth and who was skilful in protecting the world, destroyed the multitude of his foes.⁵ It further adds that he was "well acquainted with the use of weapons which are the means of amorous dalliance with the lovely woman Victory nourished by kings who prostrated themselves before him through fear".⁶

(1) *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 21.(2) *Ibid.*, p. 25.(3) *Ibid.*, p. 24.(4) *Ibid.*, p. 21.(5) *Fleet, Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum, J. B. B. R. A. S.*, X, p. 229.(6) *Ibid.*

Padmalādēvi, the wife of Kārtavīrya, is described as a woman of great beauty, possessed of many accomplishments.¹ Jainism seems to have found a liberal patron in her. According to one epigraph, she was like Śacīdēvi in respect of her faith in the tenets of the Jain religion.² According to another she is called a second Padmāvatī (a tutelary goddess of the Jain church) in fostering the Jain doctrine.³ A third inscription tells us that she appeared like a second science of polity, causing high success in the triple domain of religion, wealth and love.⁴

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatt and Belgaum*, J. B. R. A. S., X p. 229.

(2) *Ibid.*, 230.

(3) *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 23.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 32.

CHAPTER XIII.

LAKSMĪDĒVA I.

Kārtavīrya III was succeeded by his son Laksmīdēva I. He was also known as Lakṣmaṇa or Lakṣmīdhara. As regards the chronology of this king, it is not easy to settle it approximately. Of his time we have only one stone inscription at Haṇṇikēri near Sampagāon¹. It purports to furnish for him a date in the month Phālguna (February-March), falling in A. D. 1209, of the Vibhava *Samvatsara*, *Saka Samvat* 1130 (expired). But this date overlaps, and is not easily reconcilable with the earlier dates of his son Kārtavīrya IV and Mallikārjuna. The record also bears a second date which falls in A. D. 1257. Dr. Fleet has shown that both the dates are unsatisfactory². He, however, rightly suggests that the whole contents were put on the stone in about 1257, and that some mistake was introduced³. We saw in the last chapter that Kārtavīrya III was ruling till circa A. D. 1190. The earliest date for Kārtavīrya IV, the son and successor of Laksmīdēva I, falls in A. D. 1199⁴. It can thus be safely inferred that Laksmīdēva I was ruling between these two dates.

The reign of Laksmīdēva, though a short one, is remarkable for the great political changes that took place in the Dekkan. During this period, the supremacy of the Cālukyas and the Kālacūryas came to an end, the Yādavas were defeated, and the Hoysalas remained a dominant power in the Karnāṭaka. These political events were not without their

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 230; *Ep. Ind.* XIII, p. 28, 32.

(2) *Ind. Ant.*, XXXII, p. 217.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 219.

(4) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, II, pp. 556.

(5) *Curn. Desu Inscriptions*, II, p. 561; referred to by Dr. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 556.

effects on the Kūṇḍi Province, the hereditary kingdom of Lakṣmīdēva I.

The Haṇṇikēri stone inscription, referred to above, mentions Lakṣmīdēva as ruling at the capital (*rājadhāni*) Vēṇugrāma which, it says, was in the Kūṇḍi 'Three-thousand Province'. We saw in the preceding chapters that the original capital of the province was Saundatti, which is mentioned in the records by the ordinary name of Savadhavati or Savandhavati and the Sanskrit appellation Sugandhavartin. It is important to remember, in this connection, that the Kūṇḍi Province did not at first include Belgāum, the Vēṇugrāma of the Haṇṇikēri record. That place was the chief town of a group of villages known as the Vēṇugrāma or Vēḷugrāma Seventy district. This district was in the possession of the Kadambas of Gōā, prior to the accession of Lakṣmīdēva I to the Raṭṭa throne. Thus, the Narēndra inscription of A. D. 1126 explicitly states that the Gōā Kadamba king Jayakēśi II was ruling the Vēṇugrāma Seventy among other provinces².

The fact that Lakṣmīdēva I could venture to take this bold step of making Vēṇugrāma the principal seat of his government is a clear indication that he encroached on the territories of the Gōā Kadambas, whom he was ever ready to face on the field of battle. It was perhaps with a view to strengthening his hold on this newly acquired district that

(1) *Ind. Ant.*, XXXII, p. 218.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 223. Prof. Moraes in his *Kadamba Kula* (p. 192) remarks that Jayakēśi II obtained the Vēṇugrāma Seventy district which according to him was then in the possession of the Raṭṭas. He does not give us any epigraphical evidences in support of his view. His conclusions are mainly based on the fact that Jayakēśi was then ruling over that district. But this cannot in any way imply that he newly acquired that territory from the Raṭṭas. On the other hand, the Raṭṭa inscriptions do not associate their rule with Vēṇugrāma Seventy at any time before Lakṣmīdēva I (1190-1199). In the face of these facts, it can no longer be maintained that Jayakēśi obtained that district from the Raṭṭas.

Lakṣmīdēva transferred the seat of government to Belgāum. His policy in changing the capital was undoubtedly a triumph of his statesmanship. It successfully ended in the act of permanently incorporating the Vēṇugrāma district in the hereditary possessions of the Raṭṭas. The reason for this assertion is that the inscriptions of the later Kadamba kings, unlike those of their predecessors, do not refer to this district as forming part of their dominions, whereas the records of Lakṣmīdēva's successors speak of them as ruling from the capital of Vēṇugrāma.¹

We have already seen in the last chapter that the Cālukya Emperor Sōmēśvara IV imposed his overlordship over the Raṭṭas towards the end of Kārtavīrya's reign. This overlordship could not have been anything but nominal in character, having regard to the unsettled nature of the country in that period and to the rapidly declining power of Sōmēśvara himself. Inscriptions, dated in 1189 A. D. and found in the Bijāpur and Dhārwar Districts, amply show that Bhīllama the Yādava king of Dēvagiri had by that time secured the northern and eastern portions of the Cālukyan kingdom.² Other inscriptions, dated in 1192 A. D. and found in the Dhārwar and Śimoga Districts, show that before the end of that year, the Hoysaḷas under Vira-Ballāla II, had made almost equal encroachments from the south.³ From epigraphy it would seem that when the Yādavas and the Hoysaḷas were disputing the possession of southern provinces, Sōmēśvara IV had been driven back to the extreme south-west of his dominions where he sought refuge at Banavāsi.⁴ This state of affairs naturally offered a splendid opportunity for Lakṣmī-

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 15. : Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. E. R. A. S., X, pp. 220, 240, 260; *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 242; *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, II, pp. 561, 564; referred to by Dr. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, pp. 556, 557.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 32; See Fleet, O. C., p. 520.

(3) *Ind. Ant.*, II, p. 299.

(4) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sb. 419; *Ibid.*, XI, Cd. 33.

dēva.I to declare himself independent of the Cālukyan sovereignty. Hence there is every reason to believe that, immediately on his accession to the throne, he threw off the Cālukyan yoke, and thus re-established the independence of his family, a position which his father had enjoyed for a short period.

Epigraphy confirms this inference. The Hanpikēri inscription of Lakṣmīdēva does not mention any paramount power¹, a fact which may be taken to imply that he was an independent monarch. But the same record styles him a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara. This should not, however, lead us to believe that Lakṣmīdēva was still a feudatory chieftain. We know for certain that the *biruda* of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara was accorded to many kings of ancient Karnāṭaka even when they were ruling as independent sovereigns. Kārtavīrya IV Raṭṭa,² Jayakēśi III Gōā Kadamba,³ Viru-Ballāla II Hoysala,⁴ who were occasionally styled Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras, are good instances in point. Similarly, the epithet Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara accorded to Lakṣmīdēva should be taken to have been a merely conventional form.

The continuous Hoysala-Yādava struggle, that almost occupied the whole of the last decade of the twelfth century, was a blessing to Lakṣmīdēva inasmuch as it left him uninterfered in the task of maintaining the Raṭṭa independence. Moreover, the various praises of Lakṣmīdēva's military strength, mentioned in inscriptions,⁵ undoubtedly prove that he was too powerful a monarch to be cowed down either by the Yādavas or the Hoysalas.

The Bhōj copper-plate of Kārtavīrya IV tells us that at the marching forth of Lakṣmīdēva, the lord of Śākambhar⁶ ate only herbs, the king of Mājavā could not enjoy the

(1) *Ind. Ant.*, XXXII., p. 217.

(2) See the next Chapter.

(3) Moraes. *Kadamba Kula*, Appendix III (Unpublished Inscriptions), No. 23.

(4) *Ep. Carn.*, III, Nanjangud, 71.

(5) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, pp. 23, 32.

country of Mālavā, the Cōla longed for a safe refuge in the forests on the sea-shore, and the Gurjara found his territory deprived of its inhabitants.¹ These conquests attributed to Lakṣmīdēva are undoubtedly fictitious. It is impossible that he had anything to do with Mālava or Gujarāt.

Lakṣmīdēva was a wise administrator. Despite the great political confusion that arose in the Karnātaka in his reign, he seems to have maintained complete peace and order in his kingdom. We are told that "when Lakṣmīdēva, the lord of earth, was reigning with mighty authority, neither offence nor punishment existed, so skilful was he."² Descriptions, which are calculated to show the attractive personality he possessed, are abounding in the records. It is said in one place that Lakṣmīdēva so appeared to the eyes of the folk that they said: "Say in truth, is he Kāma, or the Spring-god, or the Moon?"³ It is clear from what has been said so far that Lakṣmīdēva was a great ruler. Consequently, it is not strange, if we find that all the records that speak of him pay rich tribute to his kingly qualities and often indulge in hyperbolic language.

It is one of the glories of the Raṭṭa kings that they patronised literature, with the result that many poets flourished at their court. A good instance of this is furnished by the Belgāum inscription of Kārtavīrya IV which, while describing the attributes of Lakṣmīdēva I, avers that he was "a tree of desire to the multitude of poets".⁴ The two celebrated Kannaḍa poets Karṇapārya and Nēmicandra wrote some of their works under the patronage of Lakṣmīdēva I.⁵ Both of them mention Lakṣmīdēva's queen Candalādēvi. During Karṇapārya's time Lakṣmīdēva was only a Yuvarāja.

(1) *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 248.

(2) *Ep Ind.*, XIII, p. 23.

(3) *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 32.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) Narasimhacharya, *Karnataka Kavi Charite*, I, pp. 140, 255.

Lakṣmīdēva was equally fortunate in the domestic sphere, especially in having an ideal wife like Candrikādēvi, also known as Candalādēvi or Candrikā. She was the daughter of a person named Rāja belonging to a family of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras who enjoyed the hereditary title of "supreme lord of Kuṇṇapūra", the best of towns, who claimed to belong to the Yaduvamśa and who were lords of the Hagaratage District.¹ One who reads the extracts describing the personal qualities of Candrikādēvi feels that she was a highly accomplished woman of great beauty. It is said that she by her own virtue won the approval of the monarch Lakṣmīdēva, "the prince of chivalry."² But strangely enough, some of the records say that she attained victory over a number of serpents in an earthen jar,³ the allusion apparently being to her having undergone some trial by ordeal.

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. R. R. A. S., X, pp. 232, 233, 235.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 23.

(3) Fleet, O. C., p. 233; *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 248; *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 32. The present allusion is plainly explained, says Dr. Fleet (*Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 556), by an article on trial by ordeal, among the Hindus, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I, fifth edition, p. 389, where, in describing the second form of ordeal by poison, it is said—"The hooded snake called *nāga* is thrown into a deep earthen pot, into which is dropped a ring, a seal or a coin. This the accused is ordered to take out with his hand, and if the serpent bite him, he is pronounced guilty, if not, innocent."

CHAPTER XIV.

KĀRTAVĪRYA IV AND MALLIKĀRJUNA.

Lakṣmīdēva I and Candrikādēvi had two sons Kārtavīrya and Mallikārjuna, also known as Vīra-Mallikārjuna-dēva¹. The former succeeded to his father's kingdom in about A. D. 1199. The Raṭṭa inscriptions of his reign show that Mallikārjuna was shortly afterwards associated with him in the government of his dominions. Thus two Belgāum inscriptions of 1204 describe Kārtavīrya as enjoying the *Sāmrājya* or Empire at Vēnugrāma in conjunction with his brother who is spoken of as the Yuvarāja, the heir-apparent prince². Again the Bhōj copper-plate grant which is dated in A. D. 1208 mentions Mallikārjuna as Yuvarāja, and says that his brother was enjoying the good fortune of universal sovereignty³.

We said in the last chapter that Lakṣmīdēva I, the father of Kārtavīrya, made Vēnugrāma the capital of his kingdom. By the time Kārtavīrya IV ascended the throne, it became a town of great size and importance, as is indicated by the fact that one of the Belgāum records, dated in A. D. 1201, registers grants that were made by the four thousand Mahājanas of that place⁴. The Raṭṭa inscriptions give us some idea of the splendour of the capital as it existed in the reign of Kārtavīrya IV. "Resplendent with seventy villages, which delighted all mankind with the multitude of their perennial fruits, famous in the world as

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundattī and Belgāum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 230; *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, pp. 23, 32; *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 248.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, pp. 25, 33.

(3) *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 248.

(4) Fleet, *Notes on Indian History and Geography*, *Ind. Ant.* XXIX, p. 280.

Surapura (the city of the gods) and Bhōgāvati (the capital of Vāsuki, the city of the Nāgas), Vēṇugrāma, having become famous through the excellence of its merits which had thus acquired greatness, became pleasing on account of all its riches and enjoyments"¹.

Kārtavīrya was the worthy son of a great father. It is evident from inscriptions that the power of the Raṭṭas reached the acme of its greatness during the reign of this monarch. As a matter of fact, he was undoubtedly the the greatest king of the dynasty. He not only extended the boundaries of his kingdom but also contributed a great deal towards the economic and cultural advancement of his people.

It has been remarked in a previous chapter that Kārtavīrya III had suffered a little loss of his northern territory now corresponding to the portions of Cikkōḍi Tālukā. Kārtavīrya IV, soon after his accession, seems to have made attempts to recover this part of the Kūṇḍi country and to retrieve the hereditary fortunes of his family. The fact that his attempts met with success and that he recovered the Koravalli Kampuṇa is evidenced by the Bhōj copperplate dated in 1208, wherein it is explicitly stated that the district in question was in the possession of Kārtavīrya IV².

The Raṭṭa records of this period describe Kārtavīrya as a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara enjoying *Sāmraja* or complete sovereignty³, which indicates the position of independence maintained by him. Long epigraphical extracts praising the valour of Kārtavīrya only show that in his time the

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A., S., X, pp. 252-253.

(2) *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, pp. 242-43.

(3) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, pp. 21, 30; *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 247; *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, II, p. 504, referred to by Dr. Fleet, *Kannarese Dynasties*, p. 557.

Raṭṭa Sāmraṭya extended its boundaries and enjoyed peace and prosperity to the fullest extent.

The year 1210 marks a critical stage in the life of Kārtavīrya. By that time Mallikārjuna, who was all along actively assisting his brother in the affairs of the state, suddenly passed away in the prime of his life much to the grief and sorrow of Kārtavīrya. This we conclude from the absence of Mallikārjuna's name in the *Raṭṭa* records composed after that year. By his brother's death, Kārtavīrya must have lost a great and strenuous supporter of his policy and consequently must have lacked that strong vigour which marked his early career. To add to this, Jaiṭugi I the Yādava king having died in 1210, his son Siṅghaṇa succeeded him¹. As soon as Siṅghaṇa ascended the throne, he embarked on a policy of aggressiveness and began reducing the minor rulers of the Dekkan. Accordingly, Bhoja II the Silāhāra king of Karāḍ was soon subdued by him by A. D. 1218².

This success of Siṅghaṇa, which was regarded as an achievement of rather special importance, was a signal for the *Raṭṭa* king who was then taking special care for the defence of his kingdom. Despite the untimely demise of Mallikārjuna and the conquest of the Silāhāras by the Yādavas, the great Kārtavīrya proved too powerful a monarch to be challenged even by Siṅghaṇa, the then rising star of Dakṣiṇāpatha.

The mention of efficient and well trained ministers and officials in the records amply shows that Kārtavīrya was a great statesman who paid extra attention to the administration of the country. Among such officers, Nimba, the General of the army, and Bicaṇa or Bijarāja, "the crown of the ministers of king Kārtavīrya," were prominent in the early

(1) *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, II., p. 377, referred to by Dr. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 522.

(2) *P. S. and O. C. Inscriptions*, No. 112.

half of the reign. It is said that in them was seen a course of policy for the advancement of their sovereign's kingdom.¹ Of the latter's qualities the inscription remarks: "Owing to his attraction of worthy men, control over those whom he loved, fascinating influence over friends, extermination of the wicked, maintenance of the dignity of all other ministers, and hatred of all evil designs, Bicaṇa, with these elements of policy, prospered, renowned for fortune, as counsellor of Kārtavīrya".² As regards the learning of this minister, another epigraph describes him as "the unique crest-jewel of king Kārtavīrya's ministers," and adds that he "acted on earth in such a manner that in his splendid career model courtsey was verily an ornament to peerless learning".³

Vaijaṇa, the younger brother of Bicaṇa, was another of Kārtavīrya's distinguished ministers. It is recorded of him that he was a "vision of the lore of statecraft" to his lord in times of consideration, "a keen missile of victory" on the field of stern battles, and a minister of amusement in time of sport.⁴ The father of these brothers was Appaṇa who also held an important post under Kārtavīrya himself. He is described as *Srikarṇa*, a scribe and as *Srikarṇā-graṇa*, "worthy to be counted foremost among scribes".⁵ The epithet *Srikarṇa-graṇa* is also applied to his eldest son Bicaṇa, who is further mentioned as *Srikarṇādhipa*, "chief of scribes",⁶ and as a minister (*saciva*). All this clearly shows that Bicaṇa succeeded to his father's post and held the position of a minister.

Coming to village officers of Kārtavīrya's reign, we find that they were men of culture and of administrative efficiency. To cite a single instance, it is said of the six

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XIII, pp.24-25.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 25.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 33.

(4) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 33.

(5) *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 34.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 33.

headmen of Nēsariga that they were "receptacles of modesty, born in most noble families, possessed of the most exalted piety, the lovers of great Fame, without sin, oceans of the great virtue of liberality towards their friends, devoted to contemplating the lotuses which were the feet of Jina, generous, the glory of learned men."¹ Indeed, the qualities are somewhat exaggerated. Nevertheless, we cannot escape the conclusion that village officers under Kārtavīrya were well chosen and properly instructed.

As regards the administrative abilities of Kārtavīrya, we have it on record that he was acquainted with the writings on the art of government.² It is said that his ministers were omniscient and opulent and that his army and his friends were firmly attached to him.³

It is no wonder that under the efficient rule of such a prince the city of Belgāum grew and flourished. Encouraged by Kārtavīrya, traders from different parts of Western and Southern India must have flocked to this important trading centre. We have already quoted the description of this city as the capital of the Raṭṭas. One of the Belgāum inscriptions throws considerable light on the economic organisation and commercial prosperity of this great town. It is specially interesting to learn that the merchant community of Belgāum included foreign settlers from Gujarāt and Kēraḷa.⁴ But the richest merchants of that city were Karnāṭakis. It is said that all the traders of Gujarāt were headed by Pommaṇa Nāyaka, Ammugi Nāyaka and Paraśurām Nāyaka, all of them being Kannadigas.⁵ We also learn from the same source that

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. R. A. S., X, p. 255.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 258.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 26.

(5) *Ibid.*

Kēralites were dealing in horses. It may be inferred from this that the Kēraḷa traders imported horses from Arabia and Persia through the ports of Malabār and sold them to Karnāṭaka kings. That the mercantile community of Belgāum carried on a roaring business is evident from the details given in the record. There one could purchase any article he desired. As the Nēsurge inscription puts it, the "city was large and resplendent, as being full of all the means of accomplishing pleasure".¹ The existence of a heterogeneous trading community is a tangible proof of the large volume of trade that was being carried on at Belgāum.

There are interesting descriptions of the Kūṇḍi country, which testify to the agricultural prosperity, peace and contentment that the people enjoyed during the glorious rule of Kārtavīrya. Some of the descriptions are typical and worthy of note. For instance, the composer of the Kalhōḷi grant says: "Pleasing to the eyes is the country of Kūṇḍi, which resembles the orb of the moon, with its herds of cows with their plentiful supply of delightful milk, with the glory of all its grains, and with the pure castes that inhabit it."² Another document records that "its abundant fruits and fertile crops ever flourish so as never to fail,"³ and adds that Kārtavīrya's "pleasing country was possessed of the fruits of all the seasons".⁴

Kārtavīrya, apart from being an efficient ruler, was a learned man, a generous patron of literature and an intelligent admirer of Kannaḍa poetry. The Kolhālī epigraph rightly describes him as one who fulfils the

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatt and Belgaum*, J. B. E. R. A. S., X, p. 252.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 229.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 250.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 252.

desires of learned people, one who takes great delight in listening to the stories of brave men, and one who excels in the art of poetry.¹ The two celebrated Kannaḍa poets Bālacandra and Pārśvapaṇḍita flourished in his court. Unfortunately, no work of the former is extant. But we have the good fortune to possess two Belgāum inscriptions composed by this celebrity. From a purely literary point of view both the inscriptions are fine specimens of Kannaḍa *Kāvya* style, consisting mostly of well-composed verses. One of these records describes him "as an emperor of the poets of the four tongues" and as "a swan in the lotus-wood of everlasting literature". As regards the sweetness of his style, it is said that his verses were equal to nectar.² The very fact that Janna, one of the greatest poets of Kannaḍa literature and a contemporary of Kārtavīrya IV, calls Bālacandra a famous literary figure is more than sufficient to prove that the latter was recognised as a great poet of all-Karnāṭaka eminence even in his own life-time. It was certainly a matter of pride for Kārtavīrya to have him in his court.

Uśśva, the other literary luminary of Kārtavīrya's court, is known to us as the author of *Pārśvanātha-Purāṇa*, a biography of the twenty-third Jain *tīrthaṅkara*. He bore many *birudas*, one of them being *Kavikulatilakam*.³ We have it on record that he, by the delightful sentiments that flowed forth from his charming words, was causing erection of hairs of the body through joy to learned men.⁴ The Kalhōḷi tablet of 1205 was composed by him.⁵

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 231.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 27.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J.B.B.R.A.S., X, p. 227.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 239.

(6) *Ibid.*

The wives of Kārtavīrya were Ēcaladēvi and Mādēvi. The former is mentioned as the daughter of an emperor,¹ whose name is not mentioned. It may be that she was the daughter of Bhōja II, the Silāhāra king of Karād, who was styled *Pāścima-Cakravartī* or "the Western Emperor". As the earliest date of Bhōja's reign is A.D. 1190,² it is quite possible that he had a grown up daughter of marriageable age when Kārtavīrya was a youth. Ēcaladēvi was "esteemed to be very accomplished and possessed of large and rolling eyes resembling Sulōcanā in her behaviour as a true wife".³ It may be interesting to note that Ēcaladēvi, though a Jain, was a devotee of Śiva.⁴ Mādēvi, the second wife of Kārtavīrya, was the mother of Lakṣmīdēva II,⁵ the next king of the Kūṇḍī country.

We do not know when precisely Kārtavīrya IV died. However, the fact that the latest date furnished for him is 1218⁷ and that the earliest date for his successor is 1228⁸, may lead us to infer that he died somewhere in or about A.D. 1221.

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 231.

(2) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 549.

(3) *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 213.

(4) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J.B.B.R.A.S., X, p. 231.

(5) *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 248.

(6) Fleet, O. C., p. 273.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 240.

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 260.

CHAPTER XV.

LAKṢMĪDĒVA II.

Lakṣmīdēva II, the son of Kārtavīrya IV and queen Madēvi,¹ succeeded to the throne in about A. D. 1221. As the *yuvārāja*, Lakṣmīdēva must have been of great service to his father in the political affairs of the State. Hence he received the title *boppana-siṅga* or "the lion of his father".²

As there is only one record³ of this monarch, our information about him is not as complete as it really ought to have been. However, from the absence of any allusion to a paramount power in the records, it may be safely inferred that Lakṣmīdēva II was still independent in A.D. 1228 when the inscription was written. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the decline of the Ratta dynasty began slowly but steadily with the accession of this king. The Manōlī inscription of the Yādava king Siṅghana II dated in 1222, shows that by that year some eastern portions of the Ratta territory had already fallen into the hands of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri.⁴ It is important to note, in this connection, that Manōlī is only six miles north of Saundatti, the original capital of Kūṇḍī.

If one could infer anything from the proud titles and praises of Lakṣmīdēva,⁵ it would seem that he put up a stout resistance and did not yield to Siṅghana at least for a period of about ten years. The fact that Siṅghana met a powerful foe in him is evident from the above-mentioned record which

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X., pp. 273.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 282.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 260.

(4) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 558.

(5) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X., pp. 272-283.

describes Lakṣmīdēva as one who curbed the pride of his mighty enemies and as one who was a very Vṛkōdara to the forces of his foes.¹

The success which Lakṣmīdēva attained against Siṅghaṇa in the beginning was perhaps largely due to the efficient foreign policy of Municandra, the royal spiritual preceptor of the Raṭṭas. Municandra, like many a sage of ancient and mediæval India, was a practical politician of no mean order. It is said of him that through his mystic knowledge he became the spiritual preceptor of king Kārtavīrya IV, and through his close acquaintance with the treatises on the use of weapons he became the instructor of Lakṣmīdēva II.² As regards his administrative and military abilities, the record says that Municandra "made the earth all of one standard of morality through his administration and, decorated with arrows, pursued with the excellent might of his arm the hostile kings, being a very lion to the elephants that were his enemies."³ The reference, in all probability, is to Siṅghaṇa and his allies. It was perhaps due to his success against the Yādavas that Municandra is described as "the firm sustainer of kingdom of the Raṭṭas"⁴ and as "the consecrator of the Raṭṭa rule".⁵ This inference seems to be further supported when we learn that Sugandhavartī Twelve was the locality of Municandra's special administration and was governed in accordance with his directions by two able local chiefs named Mallikārjuna and Kēśirāja.⁶ We have already seen above that the Yādava encroachment on the Raṭṭa territory began from the east where stood the important town of Saundattī. Hence it was the locality of Municandra's special attention.

Despite the wars which Lakṣmīdēva was forced to wage, the country was prosperous and happy under his rule. At

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundattī and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S. X, p. 282.

(2) *Ibid.*, 274.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 280.

(6) *Ibid.*, pp. 280-281.

any rate, it is plain that the king was fortunate in securing an able minister in Muniçandra. It is rightly said of him that he surpassed all others in his capacity for administration.¹ That this is no empty boast is shown by a description² which amply testifies to the agricultural prosperity and contentment of Sugandhavarti district, the area most affected by war.

In spite of all his early success, Lakṣmīdēva must have suffered a very crushing defeat at the hands of Siṅghaṇa in or about 1233. It is quite possible that the aged Muniçandra who began his career under Kārtavīrya IV passed away by this time. If so, it is natural to suppose that Lakṣmīdēva was unfortunate in losing him at a time when his services were most needed. The Hoysaḷa-Yādava contest for supremacy, that was being carried on for over half a century in the Dekkan, was at last decided in favour of the Yādavas. Siṅghaṇa II forthwith re-started his vigorous campaign to impose his suzerainty over the neighbouring rulers. The Yādava inscription at Haralāhalli tells us that Vicāṇa, the Viceroy of Siṅghaṇa, who had already reduced the Kadambas "who were glorious in the Koṅkaṇas", the Pāṇḍyas "who shone at Gutti" and the "turbulent Hoysaḷas" and other kings, also "conquered with ease the Raṭṭas".³ As the grant is dated A.D. 1237-38, it is evident that the defeat of the Raṭṭas took place prior to that year. In our opinion the event may be placed in about A.D. 1233. As we have no later mention of Lakṣmīdēva II or any of his descendants, the probability is that he was deprived of his hereditary position, and the province was handed over to one of Siṅghaṇa's ordinary officials³. The Cikka-Bagewāḍi grant dated in 1249 shows that the Kūṇḍi-dēśa in that year formed a part of the Yādava

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X., p. 274.

(2) See *Ibid.*, p. 281 for the description.

(3) Fleet, *A Copper-plate grant of the Devagiri Yādava King Siṅghaṇa II*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XV, pp. 384-85.

dominions, then ruled by king Kṛṣṇa.¹ This is the last mention of the Raṭṭa territory under the name of Kūṇḍi Three-thousand country. Dr. Fleet is of the opinion that by the end of the thirteenth century the name died out and was replaced by some such appellation as the Vēṇugrāma country.² He further suggests that a reminiscence of the original name has survived even to the present day in the title *Mūru-sāviradayya*, "the Ayya of the Three-thousand,"³ which is the title of an *Ayya* or Lingāyat priest at Hubli. But this view can by no means be accepted without doubt.

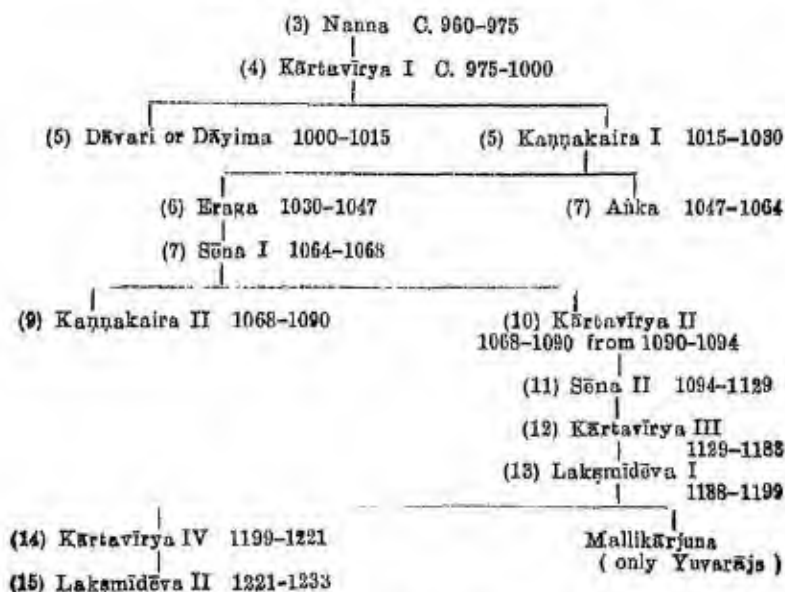
Thus ended the glorious dynasty of the Raṭṭas, which held its undisputed sway over the Kūṇḍi country for a period of well-nigh three centuries. The Raṭṭas were one of the most powerful *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvarian* families of the Cālukyan days, the golden age of Karnāṭaka culture.

(1) Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, *Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 303.

(2) Fleet, *Notes on Indian History and Geography*, *Ind. Ant.*, XXIX., p. 274.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 280.

The Rattas of Saundatti



Note :—Figure in the bracket denotes the number of the chapter.

PART V

MINOR FAMILIES UNDER THE RATTAS

CHAPTER I.

THE YADUVAMŚA OF HAGARAṬAGE.

The Yaduvamśa of Hagaratage was a family of minor chiefs who held a small territory of that name under the Rattas. The Hagaratage-nāḍ as it is called in inscriptions was a Three-Hundred division which extended over parts of the Belgāum and Bijāpur Districts. The Hagaratage chiefs bore the title "The supreme lord of the city of Kupaṇapura",¹ perhaps intended to commemorate their original home. Kupaṇapura seems to be the same as Kopaṇanagura mentioned by poet Nṛpatuṅga in his *Kavirājamārga* as one of the towns forming the boundaries of "*Tirūḷa Kannaḷa*" or the kernel of Kannaḍa country.²

Rebba was the first member of this dynasty. King Rebba, says the inscription, was of noble conduct, of great lustre and possessed of fame.³ He was pure of thought and was adorned by wise men.⁴ Rebba's wife was Holādēvi who is called the chief queen (*piriyarasi*).⁵

Brahma was the son and successor of Rebba.⁶

It appears that Brahma established the Hagaratage kingdom, founded by his father, on a firmer basis. Hence he is called the supporter of his race.⁷ He was brave, magnanimous and full of pleasing qualities.⁸ That he was a great conversationalist is indicated by the record which asserts that he was "a very pearl-necklace placed upon the breasts of the lovely woman Eloquence."⁹ Brahma's wife was Candalādēvi.¹⁰

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. E. R. A. S., X, p. 235.

(2) *Kavirājamārgam*, I, 37.

(3) Fleet, *o. c.*, p. 232.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) *Ibid.*

Ibid.

(9) *Ibid.*

(10) *Ibid.*

Brahma was succeeded by his son Rāja I. He was the father-in-law of Lakṣmīdēva I, the famous Raṭṭa king¹ who, as we have seen elsewhere, was ruling in the last decade of the twelfth century. Candrikādēvi, the daughter of Rāja and the wife of Lakṣmīdēva, was a highly accomplished lady. This matrimonial alliance must have strengthened the political relation between the two families. During the reign of this chief, the Hagaraṭage-nāḍ enjoyed the blessings of peace and prosperity to the fullest extent. It is said that the whole domain was replete with joy, and an unprecedented calmness prevailed the regions.²

Rāja I was not only an efficient ruler but also a liberal patron of Jainism. We are told that under his rule "the ocean of Jainism having become full, adorned with spotless deeds, acquired a prosperity that was befitting his name."³

Rāja's wife, a woman of great beauty, was Mailaḍādēvi, whom the inscription describes as charitable, affectionate and a "very Sarasvati in accomplishments".⁴ It looks as if her equally beautiful daughter Candrike had inherited from her mother the very qualities that later on made her the queen of the Kūṇḍi country.

Siṃha was the son of Rāja and the younger brother of Candrikādēvi.⁵ He is described as "churning the ocean which was the band of his enemies with a mountain Mandāra which was his arm."⁶ This information is evidently of no historical value. His wife Bhāgalādēvi is spoken of as "gratifying with her charities sages who abound in good qualities."⁷ The statement that she was causing happiness to learned men⁸ is a clear indication of her being a liberal patron of letters.

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, *J.E.B.R.A.S.*, X, p. 233.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 232.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.*, 233.

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) *Ibid.*

(8) *Ibid.*

To king Siṃha and to Bhāgalādēvi was born a son who later on became famous as Rāja II.¹ He was by far the greatest chieftain of the dynasty. It is said that he was a very Vatsarāja in taming wild horses.² Rāja II is known to posterity as a great supporter of Jainism. What is more, he led a very simple life unlike many of his contemporaries equal to him in status. The composer of the inscription proudly declares that king Rāja was devoted to the worship of Jina and to giving gifts to "world renowned" saints, while other kings were addicted to the "forbidden recreations" of gaming, hunting, eating flesh, associating with courtezans, unfair ram-fighting and cock-fighting.³ His love for Jainism and for art was so great that he is recorded to have erected a beautiful temple of Jina, "wonderful to be beheld, the diadem of the earth, having three pinnacles that are unequalled." The composer of the record was so much enamoured with the beauty of this temple that he says that even Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva were charmed with it.⁴

Rāja II was not only a lover of architecture but also a patron of literature. He is, therefore, rightly spoken of as the granter of all the desires of learned men.⁵ Under his rule, the district of Hagarāṭage was "charming in the earth, being delighted with its wealth, its poets, and its wise men."⁶

As regards the chronology of Rāja II, he was living in A. D. 1205-6 when the Raṭṭa king Kārtavīrya IV was at the helm of the government of the Kūṇḍi country.

We have no more information about the Yaduvamśa of Hagarāṭage. It may, however, be supposed that the Hagarāṭage chiefs were deprived of their hereditary position in about 1233 when the whole of the Kūṇḍi country was conquered by Siṃhaṇa II, the king of Dēvagiri.

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundat and Belgaum*, J. B. B. A. S. X, p. 234.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 235

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 232.

CHAPTER II.

THE PRABHUS OF KŌLĀRA.

The Lords or *Prabhus* of Kōlāra were another family of the local chieftains under the Raṭṭas. Kōlāra, the residence of these Lords, can be identified with the modern Kōṭi-Kolhār on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā not far from Kakūḍagi. Kolhār is on the north bank, and just opposite it on the south bank is the small village of Kōṭi. Hence the former is usually spoken of as Kōṭi-Kolhār.

Kōṭi-Kolhār is now only a village, but under the Raṭṭas it seems to have been a place of considerable importance. It is called a *nagara* or city in an inscription.¹

As regards the origin of the family, we are told that the Lords of Kōlāra sprang from the lineage of Vasiṣṭha, one of the seven chief sages.² If this is to be believed as true, it becomes quite clear that the family originally belonged to North India. But the claim for northern extraction cannot be accepted as true in many cases. In fact, there was a tendency among the kings and chiefs of Karnāṭaka to connect their families with North India. Thus for instance, it was in the eleventh century that the Hoysaḷās, who were purely a Karnāṭaka dynasty, traced their descent for the first time from the Yādavas who were northerners.³ Though at present we do not possess sufficient material which would enable us to draw any definite conclusion, we are inclined to hold that a minor family like the *Prabhus* of Kōlāra was purely of indigenous origin.

Mādirāja is the first known member of the family, who is expressly stated to have been enjoying the position of a

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 263. (2) *Ibid.*, p. 277.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VI, Cm, 137.

Prabhu.¹ The next *Prabhu* was Bhūtanātha the son of Mādirāja.² The record tells us that he was a famous personage of spotless deeds.³ But unfortunately no historical facts about him have come down to us.

To Bhūtanātha were born five children, "resplendent with fame" and "worthy of praise in the world."⁴ Among these Mādirāja II, who appears to be the second in rank, was the most distinguished. We are told that he acquired a name through the excess of his glory, so that people praised him as "a fish-hook to the throats of his enemies, most high in majesty."⁵ Mādirāja was a warrior of considerable merit. "Being himself a very sage of thunderbolts in respect of protecting those that fled to him for refuge, the Lord Doṅkara Mādirāja acquired for himself the title of "an outer shell of a cocoanut towards (in excoriating) those that opposed him."⁶ As Mādirāja was the contemporary of Kārtavīrya IV Raṭṭa, who reigned in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, there is every reason to believe that the above statement, describing the chief's military achievement, bears allusion to certain fights that took place between Kārtavīrya Raṭṭa and the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that Kōlāra was on the north-eastern portion of the Raṭṭa kingdom, the frontier nearest to Dēvagiri.

If this can be accepted, it is clear that Mādirāja had to fight with a very powerful enemy. It is also said that "he well protected the sons of the lords that were of equal rank with himself when they sought refuge with him distressed in mind because they had been deprived of their estates".⁷ It is quite possible that Siṅghaṇa had annexed some of the

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 277.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) *Ibid.*

Raṭṭa frontier-territory to his kingdom at least for a short time and had thus deprived some chiefs of their hereditary positions.

Mādirāja II is reported to have been slain in one of these battles with his younger brothers. The inscription, however, declares that Mādirāja acquired victory before his death.¹

On the death of Mādirāja, his elder sister Bijjiyavve assumed the governorship of Kōlāra, and continued it for a short time until it was made the dowry of Gauri, the daughter of Mādirāja, on her marriage with Mallikārjuna of Banihaṭṭi.²

Bijjiyavve seems to have discharged her functions efficiently, thus bringing credit to the womanhood of ancient Karnāṭaka. It is explicitly stated that she "continued excellently well the supremacy of Kōlāra" and "the magnificence of her younger brothers."³ Thus, owing to the failure of male heirs in the family the lordship of Kōlāra passed by marriage into the family of the chiefs of Banihaṭṭi.

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Samulatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R., A. S., X. p. 277.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*

CHAPTER III.

THE CHIEFS OF BANIHATṬI.

The chiefs of Banihaṭṭi were perhaps the most important minor family subordinate to the Raṭṭas. Banihaṭṭi now known as Banhaṭṭi is a town in the neighbourhood of Jamkhandi. The family of the lords of Banihaṭṭi named the *Samasiḡakula* was a branch of the *Indu-vamśa* which originated with the sage Atri.¹ It is said that in the race of Atri were born many Brāhmaṇas, and among them was the founder of the Banihaṭṭi family.² For the same reason as stated in the last chapter, we are not inclined to connect these minor dynasties of Karnāṭaka with North India. It is, however, worthy of note that the chiefs of Banihaṭṭi were Brāhmaṇas.

The first name mentioned is that of Rudrabhaṭṭa who is described as a poet. It is stated that he received the eighteen villages, of which Banihaṭṭi was the chief, as a reward for his proficiency in the art of poetry from a certain king Kanna,³ who must have been the first of that name in the dynasty of the Raṭṭas. That Rudrabhaṭṭa was a poet of outstanding merit is evidenced by the inscription. We are told that "he acquired from Sarasvatī excellence of speech."⁴ "Who may be compared", says the epigraph "in the excellence of his poetry and the greatness of his power with that same lord Rudrabhaṭṭa, the members of whose race used to become excellent poets in six months after commencing their studies?"⁵ Kanna I was a king of liberal

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S. X. 275.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.*

disposition.¹ Hence it is no wonder that Rudrabhaṭṭa was presented with as many as eighteen villages.

A wonderful occurrence took place in respect of Rudrabhaṭṭa. It is said that he once pledged a letter of his name as security for a loan of a thousand pieces of gold, and received from the people the appellation "Rudraṭa" as a substitute for his full name until the day when he redeemed the pledge.² This fact clearly shows that people cared much for their names in those days. What is more, they could even find a person willing to give a loan of a thousand pieces of gold on the sole security of a letter of a name.

As regards the chronology of Rudrabhaṭṭa, he was the contemporary of the Raṭṭa king Kaṇṇa I who lived in *circa* 1030.³

After Rudrabhaṭṭa we come across Kalidēva, a person "praised in the earth" on account of his "matchless" strength.⁴ He is said to have arisen to an eminence of power through his spotless fame.⁵

Śrīdhara I, the son of Kalidēva, was the next member of the family. His predecessors were merely the landed proprietors of the eighteen villages. Śrīdhara was the first of the family to be invested with the status of a local governor or chieftain. It is clearly stated that "Śrīdhara was resplendent with the supremacy over eighteen villages".⁶

Mahādēva I was the son and successor of Śrīdhara I.⁷ We do not possess any information about him except that the people enjoyed increasing happiness in his days.

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 218.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 275.

(3) See Chapter V of Part IV.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 275.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) *Ibid.*

The next chief was Śrīdhara II, also known as Siripati. He is described as a brave and proud warrior.¹ Enmity having arisen between him and the people of the city of Gaṇasarūvara, Śrīdhara was slain at Holavere in the front ranks of battle by the inhabitants of that city.² It is not possible to identify either of these two places due to paucity of materials. On his death, it would appear, the family was dispossessed for a time until his son Mahādēvanāyaka recovered the lost possessions.

We are told that Śrīdhara "having become a butt for the arrows of his enemies", his son Mahādēva straightway arose and travelled abroad for twelve years and having amassed wealth purchased the property of his father with the assistance of the king.³ Though the name of this king is not mentioned, there is reason to believe that he was the Raṭṭa king who was then reigning.

Mahādēvanāyaka had to fight a severe battle against his enemies before being able to be invested with the family status. He is said to have destroyed his foe "with the vehemence of his anger and with his infuriated elephants".⁴ Just as Paraśurāma destroyed the whole Kṣatriyas, says the inscription, so Mahādēvanāyaka destroyed with his elephants the race of his enemies, and performed for his father the customary rites of the gift of water.⁵ He was thus a successful chieftain who is said to have discharged his functions efficiently.⁶

Mahādēva had three sons namely Śrīdhara III, Mallikārjuna and Candra.⁷ Śrīdhara seems to have pre-deceased his father, and hence the lordship was transferred to Mallikārjuna, also known as Malidēva and Mallapa. On the marriage of Mallikārjuna with Gauri, the daughter of Mādi-

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X., p. 276.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) *Ibid.*

rāja II, Kōlāra became the family residence of the Banihaṭṭi chiefs. Mallikārjuna was undoubtedly the ablest member of the family. He is described as "the sun of the white lotuses of his family", becoming the advancer of his race and the increaser of its pure fame".¹ That he was a liberal patron of letters is evidenced by the inscription which calls him the grantor of the desires of learned men and the men of culture.²

In recognition of his extraordinary abilities, Mallikārjuna was promoted to the rank of a high officer by the Raṭṭa king Lakṣmīdēva II. Thus he became one of the famous counsellors of Muncandradēva, the chief minister in the administration of the Sugandhavarti Twelve.³ With the promotion of Mallikārjuna to this office, the lordship of Banihaṭṭi and Kōlāra seems to have been transferred to his son Kēśirāja.⁴

Kēśirāja or Kēśavarāja, though the second son of Mallikārjuna, became the Lord of the estates in place of his elder brother Mahādēva.⁵ He had also a younger brother by name Mādirāja III.⁶ That Kēśirāja was a successful chieftain is borne out by his grant which contains a lengthy appreciation of his good qualities. As regards his brilliant achievements, we are told that he "was beautiful in the earth on account of his bravery which was innate in him and not dependent upon the sensations of joy, pride or despair".⁷ In his private life, Kēśirāja was "perfect in all his deeds" though having his thoughts intently fixed upon the feet of Hara. He led a life of purity and chastity, "destroying not the wealth of others, and having no longing for their wives."⁸

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X., p. 276.

(2) *Ibid.* (3) *Ibid.*, pp. 274-275. (4) *Ibid.*, p. 278.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 280. (6) *Ibid.* (7) *Ibid.* p. 278. (8) *Ibid.*

We are told that Kēśirāja visited three times the god Mallikārjuna of Śrī-Śaila, which is now situated in the Karnool District of the Madras Presidency.¹ When he visited this place for the first time, he is reported to have taken the following vow at the *liṅga* shrine : "If ever hereafter disease or other troubles shall manifest themselves among those whom I protect, I will come no more".² This vow clearly indicates that Kēśirāja deeply felt for his subjects. Uttering such vows, "Kēśava was prosperous in the earth, the god Mallikārjuna being favourable to him".³ From Śrī-Śaila he brought back with him a *liṅga* made out of the rock of the sacred hill, and set it up in a temple of Mallikārjunadēva or Mallināthadēva which he erected in the name of his father by the tank of Nagarakere outside the city of Sugandhavarti, which was then the locality of the administration of Muni-candra, the chief minister of the Raṭṭa king Lakṣmīdēva II.⁴ What is more, Kēśirāja himself constructed the tank of Nagarakere (the city-tank), planted a groove round it, and gave the post of high-priest of the temple to one Liṅgayya who was a Kālāmukha teacher⁵.

Maḷalādēvi, the wife of Kēśirāja, was a woman of noble qualities and of a religious turn of mind like her husband. She was also known by the names Maḷale and Mali-yavve. Born in a noble Brāhmaṇa family, she became renowned for her pious deeds.⁶ "How could other women who hoard up their riches for themselves", asks the inscription, "be compared in merit with Maḷalādēvi, the ocean of affability ?".⁷

As regards the chronology of Kēśirāja, he lived in A. D. 1129-30 when various grants and titles were made to the

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 281.

(2) *Ibid.* (3) *Ibid.* (4) *Ibid.*, pp. 281-282.

(5) *Ibid.*, 285. (6) *Ibid.*, p. 278. (7) *Ibid.*

temple of Mallikārjuna. We learn that Kēśirāja had a son by name Mādirāja.¹ But he seems not to have enjoyed the position of a chieftain. The whole of the Raṭṭa kingdom, which apparently included the circles of Banihatti and Kōlāra, was occupied by the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa in about A. D. 1233. Thus ended the dynasty which played an important part under the Raṭṭas for about two centuries.

Mādirāja was a Kannaḍa poet of considerable merit. He composed the Saundatti inscription of his father,² which is a good specimen of the *Kāvya* style.

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 286.

(2) *Ibid.*

CHAPTER IV.

THE FAMILY OF THE HALĪYARUS.

The Halīyarus was an important family, the members of which held the position of headmen of a circle of villages under the Raṭṭa King Sēna I. Excepting that the family is said to be a branch of Balātkāragana,¹ nothing is stated as to its origin. Among the Jaina saints that belonged to this sect Gaṇacandra (the moon of the sect) is mentioned.² After him came the learned Nayanandi who used to fast for a fortnight at a time.³ His disciple was Sṛīdharārya, "the best of ascetics, delighted in many sciences, of great glory, praised in the earth like the Lord of the lovely woman Sṛī".⁴

The members of this religious sect held the position of high-priests at Koṇḍanūru, and were the spiritual preceptors of the Halīyarus.⁵ Koṇḍanūru, which was the place of residence of the Halīyarus, is the modern Kōnūr, a large village on the Ghaṭaprabhā about five miles north-west of Gōkāk. It seems to have been in old times a place of importance among the Jains. There are still several ruined temples of antiquity, most of which were originally Jaina shrines. What is more interesting, the post of hereditary headman of the village is still held by a Jaina family in conjunction with a Liṅgāyat family.

Lord Sorigaṅka is the first to be mentioned in the lineage of the Halīyarus. As he is described to have belonged to *rājānvaya*,⁶ there is reason to believe that he came of a

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 296.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 295. (3) *Ibid.* (4) *Ibid.* (5) *Ibid.*, p. 296.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 296.

noble house. The statement that Sorigaṅka was the beloved of good poets and kings¹ shows that he was popular both among the literary men and the ruling aristocracy of the land. He seems to have amassed much wealth, a considerable portion of which was spent for the promotion of Jainism and fine arts. Sorigaṅka was the contemporary of Sēna II who came to the Raṭṭa throne in about A. D. 1065.

Baḷa or Baladēva, Kalla or Kalidēva and Gāmaṇḍa were the sons of Sorigaṅka². We are told that all these brothers were learned men³. What is more, they conversed in elegant diction and "were like the sons of the wind towards the hostile warriors that were lords full of malice". The latter part of the description evidently indicates that they actively assisted their father in the administration of the circle. It is interesting to note that the eldest brother Baḷa remained a bachelor while his younger brothers were married. Baḷa and Kalla were like Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa⁴ the meaning of which is that both of them were very much attached to each other.

Manakāṅgi was the wife of Kalla while Kanaki was that of Gāmaṇḍa⁵. The latter appears to have been a very beautiful lady. "The curls of her forehead resembled a number of black bees, her eyes were like the leaves of a lotus, her breasts were like two Cakravāka birds, her lovely waist was like a golden creeper"⁷. The composer of the inscription compares her with Rati and calls her "the captivating wife of that charming lord Gāmaṇḍa".

Nidhiga, also known as Nidhiyama Nāyaka, was the only son of Gāmaṇḍa and of Kanaki⁸. He became the Lord or Prabhu of Koṇḍanūru in about 1085 when Kaṇṇakaira II was ruling over the Kūṇḍi kingdom. Nidhiyama was a great

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, pp. 296.

(2) *Ibid.* (3) *Ibid.* (4) *Ibid.* (5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Ibid.* (7) *Ibid.*, p. 297. (8) *Ibid.*

patron of Jainism. He "abounded in the utterance of blessings which were resplendent with the mental joy of good and worthy people, exceeded the glory the supremest bliss, and was ever liberal towards worthy objects."¹ It is said that he paid much respect to the Jaina saint Śrīdhara of the Balātkāragaṇa. He "brought to perfection the race of spiritual preceptors" and "became a very supporter of Śrī in the lotus which was his heart".²

Nidhiyama Nāyaka is recorded to have granted two *maltars* of cultivated land, twelve houses, one oil-mill and one garden to a Jaina temple that he had built in Koṇḍanūru in the Śaka year 1009 (A. D. 1087-9) being the Prabhava *Samvatsara*.³ This temple erected by Nidhiyama seems to have attracted many visitors from all over the Kūṇḍi kingdom. We are told that even the Raṭṭa *Mahāmaṇḍalēvara* Kaṇṇa-Kaira II once came for worship at the temple and made grants to it.⁴

Nidhiga had two sons by name Kalidēva and Baladēva. They had for their teacher the Jaina scholar Vāsupūjya who was well versed in the three *Vēdas* and the tenets of the science of *śyādvāda*.⁵

What became of the family of the Haḷḷēyarus after Nidhiyama is not known.

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 297.

(2) *Ibid.* (3) *Ibid.* (4) *Ibid.*, pp. 297, 298.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 297.

CHAPTER V

THE NĀYAKAS OF NĒSARIGE.

These Nāyakas, subordinate to the Raṭṭas, were administering the circle of six villages of which Nēsarige was the chief town. Nēsarige is situated on the Belgāum-Kulādgi road about seven miles north of Sampgāum.

The *Nāyakas* in ancient Karnātaka were hereditary headmen of circles of villages corresponding to the *Dēśmukhs* and *Dēśāis* of later times. The difference between the *Nāyaka* and the *Gauḍa* was that the latter was the headman of a single village and was subordinate to the former, while the *Nāyaka* was the headman of a group of villages. In the case of the *Nāyakas* of Nēsarige, they were in charge of the Nēsarige circle, and had under them six *Gauḍas* as headmen of the six villages of which that circle was composed.

From a recently discovered inscription at Śirsāṅgi, it would appear that Habbāṇa or Habbayanāyaka was the first of his family to enjoy the rank of a *Nāyaka*, and that that rank was conferred on him by the Cālukya Emperor Sōmēśvara IV. That Habbāṇa was a great warrior under the Emperor is evidenced by this record which contains very lengthy passages describing his military abilities.¹

Though there is much exaggeration in these long eulogies, we cannot escape the conclusion that Habbāṇa was one of the foremost warriors in the Cālukya Empire. He is reported to have defeated the Koṅkaṇigas (the people of the Koṅkaṇ) who are said to have taken to their heels.² The reference here is perhaps to some minor chiefs under the Goa Kadambas, who held territory on the Kadamba frontier. The Goa Kadambas were forced by this time to acknowledge the over-lordship of the Hoysaḷas, and hence they were naturally looked upon by Habbāṇa as the enemies of Sōmēśvara IV, the Cālukya Emperor.³

(1) Appendix No. 1. (2) Ibid. (3) Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 119.

The Śirsāṅgi inscription of Habbayanāyaka, dated in 1187, does not mention the Raṭṭas. At the same time it calls Somēśvara IV with the imperial title *Śrī Prthvi Vallabham Mahārājādhi-Rāja Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭārakam Satyāśraya Kulatilakam*.¹ This clearly shows that Habbāṇa, being under the direct control of Somēśvara IV, was responsible only to him. After the death of Somēśvara IV, which seems to have happened in C. 1200, Habbāṇa evidently came under the control of the Raṭṭas. The Nēsarige inscription of the reign of Kārtavīrya IV describes Habbāya-Nāyaka as a subordinate of the Raṭṭa king.² What is more, Habbāṇa was only too glad to transfer his allegiance to Kārtavīrya. It is said that he "became with pleasure the servant of the happy king Kārtavīrya" as the bull *Nandi* (Viṣṇendra) became the servant of Śiva, as Garuḍa of Viṣṇu and as Māruti of Rāghava.

Habbāṇa was a brave warrior and an efficient administrator. As regards his impartiality towards the people, it is said that though they might be his friends or his own people, or people whom he disliked, or even kings, he behaved impartially to all and caused mankind to say "Is there any injustice in Habbāṇa?" The fact that he was considered the foremost of all the *Nāyakas* is explicitly stated in the record³. The inscription discloses the name of Kālavve the wife of Habbāṇa.⁴

To Habbāṇa and to Kālavve were born Bāca or Bācayanāyaka and Bīraya, the former of whom married Māyidēvi.⁵ Both the sons seem to have achieved great fame as skilful warriors in the Raṭṭa kingdom. "They were numbered amongst valiant men and were considered heroes".⁶

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J.B.B.R.A.S., X, p. 205.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 253.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 254.

One who reads the description of Bācaya feels that he was a greater soldier than his younger brother. It is said that he once killed so many soldiers in his enemy's camp that a nasty smell was caused.¹ "Cleaving asunder with his fierce sword the brave breasts of the heroes who came against him in war proclaiming their own titles and praising their own valour, Bācaya, the bravest of mankind, shouting out, while their breasts and their red blood and their flesh were being scattered abroad, tying their entails round his head like a garland imitated in the earth the attitudes of Bhairava".² Though there is some exaggeration in the extract, we cannot escape the conclusion that Bācaya was a powerful leader of his forces. It may be that he rendered some valuable military service to Kārtavīrya IV in defending the Raṭṭa kingdom against the aggressive policy of the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa II who had then embarked on an ambitious project of subduing the various *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* of Karnāṭaka.

Mayidēvi Nāyaki, the wife of Bācaya Nayaka, was a learned lady of liberal disposition. Both of them "were living happily together on account of their great munificence, their infinite delight in each other, and their pleasing affection."³ A brother of Mayidēvi named Beddaṇa is spoken of as a man of note.⁴ From the phraseology of the inscription, it would appear that he too was a *Nāyaka* of some importance.

We have the good fortune to possess a description of the six head-men of the Nēsarige circle, subordinate to Bācaya. They were the receptacles of modesty, born in noble families, possessed of piety, the lovers of fame and men of liberal turn of mind. Above all, they were learned men suitably qualified to discharge their functions efficiently.⁵

(1) *Feet, Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundattī and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X., p. 254. (2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 255. (4) *Ibid.*, pp. 254, 255. (5) *Ibid.*, p. 255.

Bācaya Nāyaka and his wife are credited with the erection of three *Liṅga* temples of Habbēśvara, Māṇikēśvara and Siddēśvara at Nēsarige.¹ It is, therefore, needless to state that they were devout Śaivas. The shrine of Habbēśvara, which was apparently named after Habbaya, was the most important so far at least the architectural aspect is concerned. We are told that this temple was as it were "the jewelled diadem of the lovely woman, the earth."² Its construction is said to have brought great renown to Bācaya. The other two temples were caused to be built by Māyidēvi. The priest of the three temples was a *Kālāmukha* teacher Honnayya "with resolute mind, speech and body".³ The inscription further tells us that Bācaya and his wife, following the good path of giving gifts and doing honour to good people, established a multitude of *liṅgas*.⁴

The importance of these three shrines is amply evidenced by the fact that great gifts of land, titles and duties were made to them at the command of the Raṭṭa king Kārtavīrya IV in A. D. 1219.⁵

There is no notice of the Nēsarige Nāyakas after Bācaya. The probability is that they were deprived of their hereditary position when the Yādava King Siṅhaṇa II of Devagiri conquered the Kūṇḍi kingdom in about 1230.

(1) *Fleet, Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 255.

(2) *Ibid.* (3) *Ibid.*, 256. (4) *Ibid.*, pp. 255-256.

(5) *Ibid.*, pp. 256-259.

PART VI
THE PĀNDYAS OF UCCAṄGI

CHAPTER I.

FOUNDATION OF THE DYNASTY.

The progenitors of the Uccaṅgi Pāṇḍyas were sufficiently powerful even before they came to be associated with the province of Nōlambavāḍi. This is confirmed by some later inscriptions found in Chitaldroog District. These epigraphs, by recording the achievements of these chiefs before they established themselves as important foundatories under the Western Cālukyas, show that they were men of consequence. The earliest of these chieftains is Maṅgaya, also called Ādityadēva, about whom it avers that he was an ornament of the Yādavakula.¹

Ādityadēva was succeeded by his son Pāṇḍya who bore the title Tēja-rāja. The glory of Tēja-rāja Pāṇḍya, as described in a Hoysaṇa inscription, is as follows: "In protecting the earth an able right arm, a lion to the elephants his enemies, a house of adamant to refugee kings, the favourite of women, a bee at the lotus feet of Hara, destroyer of all his enemies,—such was Tēja-rāja's fame (*tēja*) in the world. There were no kings who did not flee, no people who did not supplicate him, none who did not retreat when he attacked, no foreign territories,—so extensive was the fame (*tēja*) of Tēja-rāja".²

This description is undoubtedly conventional and full of hyperbolic phraseology. In fact, it was written many years after the king's death. Nevertheless, we cannot escape the conclusion that Pāṇḍya was a powerful personage who wielded increasing influence. The very title *Tēja-rāja* accorded to him and the fact that his descendants were all known by the surname Pāṇḍya are clear indications that

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 41.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, V., Ak. 102 a.

he was an able person. Though he is called a king in the record quoted above, there is reason to doubt whether he was really a ruling prince or simply an officer under the Cālukyas.

Cēḍi-rāja, so called from his subduing the Cēḍi king, was the son of Tējā-rāja Pāṇḍya.¹ As a matter of fact, Cēḍi-rāja was the real founder of the dynasty. He seems to have been a powerful general under the Cālukyan Emperor Somēśvara I who reigned from A. D. 1042 to 1068. Bilhana in his *Vikramāṅkadēvacarita* tells us that Somēśvara attacked Cēḍi or Dāhala, the capital of which was Tēvūr or Tripura, and deposed or slew Karṇa.² This victory of Somēśvara against the Cēḍi king was perhaps largely due to the above general "Cēḍi-rāja". Karṇa, the king of Dāhala, was one of the greatest monarchs of the dynasty. Hence the defeat of such a powerful ruler at the hands of the Cālukya General must have enhanced the prestige of the latter throughout the Cālukyan Empire. In recognition of this valuable military service, he seems to have been raised to the position of a feudatory chief by Somēśvara. It is thus apparent that Cēḍi-rāja, who originally was a general under the Cālukyas, came to be associated with a portion of Nōḷambavāḍi, where he founded a dynasty which in course of time became famous under the name 'the Pāṇḍyas of Uccaṅgi.'

It is, however, certain that Cēḍi-rāja enjoyed greater power than was ever exercised either by his father or his grand-father. It is said of him in exaggerated language that, though a king over the whole circle of the world, he was permanently partial to the Pāṇḍya-country, and so acquired settled fame in the earth by the name Pāṇḍya.³ It must be remembered, in this connection, that the kingdom

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 41.

(2) Bühler, *Vikramāṅkadēvacarita*, I, 102-103.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 39.

was not called the Pāṇḍya country during the life-time of Cēḍi-rāja. As the inscription making the above statement is dated in 1168, it is clear that the name was introduced somewhere after the death of Cēḍi-rāja.

A Hoysala inscription assigned to A. D. 1100 tells us that Cēḍi-rāja was possessed of all good qualities.¹ "He was the snatcher of victory from hostile kings", and "a moon to the waterlily his own family".² The record further says that overwhelming the host of hostile kings, he with ease became known as *Ēkāṅgavīra* and was adorned with the title *Parichhēdi-gaṇḍa*, which seems to be a covert allusion to the defeat of the Cēḍi-king. Cēḍi-rāja even in his old age did not lose all the vigour which marked his early career. We are told that he rendered valuable service to Vikramāditya VI by driving out his treacherous brother Sōmēśvara II. To quote the epigraph, "turning back Bhuvanaikamalla (Sōmēśvara II) so that the earth was terrified, he with great rejoicing seized his kingdom and in his own body gave it to Tribhuvanamalla" (Vikramāditya).³

(1) *Ep. Car.*, V, Ak. 102 a.

(2) *Ibid.* (3) *Ibid.*

CHAPTER II.

IRUKKAPĀLA.

Irukkapāla was the younger brother of Cēḍi-rāja Pāṇḍya.¹ He, unlike his brother, was not under the suzerainty of the Cālukyas. He took military service under the Cōḷas and married a Cōḷa princess. He so much identified himself with the Tamiḷ Cōḷas that the Arasikere inscription of Ereyāṅga Hoysaḷa makes the false statement that he and his ancestors descended in unbroken line of the Cōḷa Emperors.²

Irukkapāla had a beautiful daughter Mahādēvi who was married to the Hoysaḷa prince Ereyāṅga.³ It may look strange that Ereyāṅga, who was a loyal feudatory and a powerful general under Vikramāditya VI⁴ and a deadly enemy of the Cōḷas,⁵ concluded this marriage alliance with Irukkapāla. This marriage perhaps took place at a time when temporary peace was established between the Cōḷas and the Cālukyas.

As regards the military prowess of Irukkapāla, it is said that he was a Bhīma in the battle-field and a destroyer of brave kings.⁶ It is strange that Irukkapāla was a loyal general under the Cōḷas, while his elder brother Cēḍi-rāja Pāṇḍya was a strenuous supporter of the Cālukyas.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, V, Ak. 102 a. (2) *Ibid.* (3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*, II, 327; V. Ha. 65, and Bl. 102, 117.

(5) *Ibid.*, VII. 8b. 64. (6) *Ibid.*, V, Ak. 102 a.

CHAPTER III

PALAMĀṆḌA PĀṆḌYA OR PĀLANTA.

Palamāṇḍa Pāṇḍya, also known as Pālanta, was the son and successor of Cēḍi-*raja*.¹ We have only one record of his reign and hence what little is known about him is mostly derived from the inscriptions of his successors. He seems to have ascended the Pāṇḍya throne in about A.D. 1075. The Dāvanagere inscription of Vīra-Pāṇḍya dated in 1148 calls Pālanta "the crest ornament of the Yadukula".²

Palamāṇḍa Pāṇḍya was the subordinate of Vikramāditya VI. He is the first king of the dynasty to be described as governing over the province of Nōlambavāḍi 32,000.³ He is mentioned by the title *Nigalanṅkamalla Pāṇḍya* in an inscription dated in the Cālukya Vikrama year 4, corresponding to A.D. 1079-80.⁴ This is the only record of his reign and also the earliest of the thirteen inscriptions discovered at Bāgali in Bellāry District, belonging to Vikramāditya VI.

We said above that Palamāṇḍa Pāṇḍya was ruling the Nōlambavāḍi Province as a feudatory of the Cālukyas. But it should not be supposed that he was the ruler of the whole province. As a matter of fact, he seems to have held only a portion of it, now corresponding to the Harapanahalli Tālukā and surrounding parts. We know from other inscriptions that a certain Viṣṇuvardhana Udayāditya, the son of an Eastern Cālukya princess, was ruling the Nōlambavāḍi Thirty-two Thousand in 1064 and 1066, with his seat of government at Kampili.⁵ Another inscription shows us

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg, 41. (2) *Ibid.*

(3) Rangaacharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, I, p. 296.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Ci. 18.

another Udayāditya ruling in 1072 over the Nōlambavāḍi Province from Peñcēru.¹ He was evidently under the Cōlas, as he had the sub-title Vira-rājēndra as well as Vira-Nōlamba-Pallava-Permānāḍi. Peñcēru or Peñjēru (Heñjēru) now called Ilēmāvatī is situated on the northern border of Sirā Tālukā. Apparently it was at this time the capital of Nōlambavāḍi. The same Udayāditya appears in another inscription in about 1109, wherein he is styled as the binder of Cōla-mārāja.² It will thus be seen that during Pālanta's time, the province of Nōlambavāḍi was split up into two political divisions. The western part was ruled by the Pāṇḍyas under the suzerainty of the Cālukyas, while the eastern part was included in the Cōla dominions.

Palamāṇḍa Pāṇḍya was undoubtedly a brave chieftain who rendered valuable service to his master Vikrama. We are told that he made himself conspicuous in giving their own kingdoms to both the Cālukya and Cōla kings.³ The reference is undoubtedly to the service he rendered to Vikramāditya against his Cōla enemy. As the province of Nōlambavāḍi was a part of Karnāṭaka both culturally and geographically, the Kannaḍa Cālukyas had better claims to it than the Tamiḷ Cōlas. Hence the composer of the inscription rightly states that Palamāṇḍa Pāṇḍya secured their respective kingdoms to both the Cālukyas and Cōlas.

With the accession of Vikramāditya VI to the imperial throne and with that of Pālanta to the throne of western Nōlambavāḍi, began the Cōla-Cālukya wars which in the long run resulted in the expulsion of the Cōlas from Nōlambavāḍi. The *Vikramāṇḍakāḍēvacarita* states that the Cālukya king overcame Rājiga, while the Tamiḷ inscriptions of the latter report that he defeated the former.⁴ That Vikramāditya should have won some notable victory against the Cōlas is

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XII, Sl. 9.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, I. Gd. 57.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 39.

(4) See *Mysore Arch. Report*, 1904, Para 18.

repeatedly referred to in his Sikārpur inscriptions.¹ At any rate, it is certain that the Pāṇḍya feudatory Pālanta was of great service to his emperor in the latter's task of completely conquering the Nōlambavāḍi Province.

We do not know when precisely Palamāṇḍa Pāṇḍya died. But the fact that the earliest inscription of his son and successor is dated in 1083² naturally leads us to the conclusion that he died somewhere between A.D. 1080 and 1083.

The reign of Palamāṇḍa, though a short one, is of great importance in the annals of the dynasty. It marks the beginning of the Cōḷa decline in the Bellāry District. What is more, it is the period when the kingdom of the Uccaṅgi Pāṇḍyas began to extend its limits beyond the borders of the Harapanahūḷi Tālukā which had formed the hereditary territory of Pālanta when he came to the throne.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk, 124, 114.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Cl., 33.

CHAPTER IV

TRIBHUVANAMALLA PĀṆDYA.

Tribhuvanamalla, whose real name seems to have been Irukkavēla,¹ was the son and successor of Palamāṇḍa.² He was undoubtedly the greatest king of the dynasty. He was one of those actively connected with the final driving away of the Cōlas from the Nōlambavūḍi 32,000, which took place in Vikramāditya's reign. In fact, Irukkavēla took a prominent part in the Cōla-Cālukya wars.

Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya's military achievements are gloriously described in many records. Thus an inscription from Cannagiri, which is assigned to A. D. 1083, tells us that Irukkavēla was a champion cutting on both sides, defeater of the designs of Rājiga Cōla and a bee at the lotus feet Tribhuvanamalla-Dēva.³ Rājiga Cōla is the Cālukya-Cōla king Kulōttuṅga I. Similarly, an inscription from Dāvanagerc dated in A. D. 1121 informs us that such was the emperor's confidence in him that he was considered sufficient to break the pride of Cōla, to harass Āndhra, to cause Kaṭiṅga to fail, to frighten and attack the Aṅga, Vaṅga, and Magadha kings, to conquer Mālavā in battle, and to trample on the famous Gurjjara.⁴ There appears to be much poetical exaggeration in this description. For instance, it is impossible that the Pāṇḍya chief should have so much of prowess as to frighten and attack the Aṅga and Vaṅga kings. Nevertheless, there is enough justification in describing Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya in such exaggerated phraseology. It seems that Vikramāditya appointed him as a general against the Cōlas. Irukkavēla's conquest of the Cōlas is referred to in many inscriptions. It

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 39.

(3) *Ibid.*, VII, Cl, 33.

(2) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*, XI, Dg. 3.

s said that he by his valour brought the whole earth encompassed by the four oceans into subjection to king Īvikrama.¹ He is rightly described as the rod in Tribhuvanamalla's right hand.² It is to be remembered that Nōlambavādi was the battle ground of the Cālukya-Cōla fights and that it was in Vikrama's time that the final expulsion of the Cōlas from that area took place. This was done apparently with the active aid of the feudatories under the leadership of Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya.

The statement that Irukkavēla had sufficient strength to harass Āndhra³ seems to be based on facts. It is quite possible that he was employed on the Āndhra expedition as a general of Vikramāditya VI. The Āndhras here referred to are probably the Telugu Cōḍa chiefs said to have been captured by Vikramāditya VI in his inscriptions found at Drākṣarāma.

Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya was the first chieftain of the dynasty to be called a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*. His full title is 'Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, Lord of Kuḷambapura, champion in cutting on both sides (*parichchēdigāṇḍa*), defeater of the designs of Rājiga Cōla.⁴

Irukkavēla was distinguished as a great feudatory of his greater Emperor Vikrama. The description of him as "a Mukunda among chieftains, an ornament of chieftains, beautiful among chieftains and as a frontlet of chieftains",⁵ shows the unique position he occupied under Vikramāditya. These terms perhaps also indicate not only that he belonged to the more powerful among the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras*, who enjoyed a certain amount of independence and exercised much freedom of action, but also that Irukkavēla probably enjoyed still greater power than was enjoyed by his peers.

Irukkavēla Pāṇḍya, though a feudatory, appears to have been appointed the provincial viceroy of the Sāntāḷige

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 3.

(2) *Ibid.*, 139.

(3) *Ibid.*, 3.

(4) *Ibid.*, 139.

(5) *Ibid.*, 3.

Thousand towards the close of his reign. An inscription from Dāvāṇagere, dated in 1124, shows him governing the Sāntalige Thousand and various *agrahāras* in Banavāse-nāḍ as well as the Nōlambavāḍi Province, and controlling the *nidhi-nidhāna-nikṣēpa* (mines or banks and underground treasures), the *sahasradanḍa* (the thousand force) and other affairs.¹ The statement that he was at the head of many *agrahāras* in Banavāse-nāḍ leads us to presume that he was at the head of the Department of Public Instruction so far as the Banavāse Province was concerned. It may be that Irukkavēla in his old age, when he must have naturally lost much of his military vigour, thought of directing his energies in promoting education and learning. Hence he chose the province of Banavāse for this purpose, as it was famous for its efficient *agrahāras*. Irukkavēla is described as the younger brother of Tribhuvanamalla Vīra-Nōlamba-Permāḍi-Dēva, who can be identified with Vikramāditya's younger brother Jayaśīmha. How he came to be described as Jayaśīmha's brother is not evident. Perhaps, as Mr. Rice suggests, "the designation was intended in a complimentary sense as betokening a close intimacy between the Cālukya-Pallava prince Jayaśīmha and the Pāṇḍya chief".²

The Pāṇḍyas as yet had not become identical with Uccaṅgi, the later capital of the dynasty. What is more, no chieftain that preceded Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya is mentioned as ruling the Nōlambavāḍi from any capital. It looks as if the early Pāṇḍyas had not founded a permanent capital and hence no inscription refers to it. It is Irukkavēla who is credited with having established the capital of his dynasty at Beṭṭūr, the modern Beṭṭūr near Dāvāṇagere. We have the good fortune to possess a description of this capital written in A. D. 1121. "If looked at, the most to be desired in the great Thousand-nāḍ in Nōlambavāḍi was Beṭṭūru,

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 155.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Introduction, p. 17.

shining with excellence, a birth place of fortune, agreeable as the land of praiseworthy enjoyment, giving pleasure to all people. ... chief in beauty ".¹

It is evident from what has been said above that Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya was a great ruler. The very title *Tribhuvanamalla* accorded to him after the title of his Emperor Vikrama is a clear indication of the great services he had rendered to his master. We have also seen that Irakkavēlu was not only a faithful feudatory but also a pillar of strength supporting the empire. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that somewhere in about 1115 A. D. he, being intoxicated with his early victories against the Cōlas, aimed at complete independence. We are told in a Sinda inscription that Vikramāditya commanded his loyal feudatory Ācugi II the Sinda chieftain to proceed against the refractory *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras*. Ācugi II "pursued and prevailed against Poysaḷa, took Gōve, put to flight Lakṣma in war, valorously followed after Pāṇḍya, dispersed at all times the Malapas, and seized upon the Koṅkaṇ".² Thus the attempts of Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya to establish independence ended in failure.

Vikramāditya must have proceeded leniently with the Pāṇḍya feudatory, and the differences between them were very soon and permanently made up. The reason for this seems to be that Vikramāditya bore genuine admiration for his Pāṇḍya feudatory on account of his early services and warlike qualities. It was also a stroke of diplomacy on the part of the Cālukya Emperor who was then in need of powerful and loyal feudatories in the south to assist him against the rising power of the Hoysaḷas. He further seems to have strengthened this alliance by appointing Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya as the viceroy of the Sāntalige Province.³

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 3.

(2) *Fleet, Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 269.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 155.

The defeat of Irukkavēla at the hands of the Sinda chieftain Ācugi only shows the declining vigour of the Pāṇḍya prince owing to his old age. Taking advantage of this, the ambitious Viṣṇuvardhana marched against Nōlambavādi. In the same year in which Talakāḍ was taken (A. D. 1116), Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya was attacked at Dumme just on the border of Shimoga and Chitaldroog Districts.¹ But the inscription referring to the war does not say which party was defeated. It is only stated that the village Jalahalli, which apparently belonged to the Pāṇḍyas, was destroyed by one Mācanna. But the Kadūr inscription of A.D. 1160, states that the lion, the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana's valour, having sported in plunder at Talkāḍ, attacked the lofty elephant Uccaṅgi, calmly marched by Banavāse, daringly seized upon Beḷvola, and sprang forward with joy to the Perddore (or Kṛṣṇā), planting his feet on Hānugal.² Though there is a little exaggeration in this description, it can be safely maintained that the Pāṇḍya chief Tribhuvanamalla suffered some temporary reverses. Again a Nāgamāṅgala record which was set up in A. D. 1178 reports that among other conquests Viṣṇuvardhana captured "Vijaya Pāṇḍya's fortress of Uccaṅgi".³ Here the composer of the inscription calls the Uccaṅgi fort as belonging to Vijaya Pāṇḍya only to show that Vijaya Pāṇḍya was the reigning Pāṇḍya king when the tablet was actually written. As this record was composed many years after the event it treats of, we greatly doubt whether Uccaṅgi was really captured. Two inscriptions from Cikkāṇāyakanahalli, dated in A. D. 1149, also tell us that Cāma-dēva, a general of Viṣṇuvardhana assaulted Uccaṅgi.⁴ Even from these inscriptions, it is not quite clear that the fort of Uccaṅgi was actually taken by the Hoysala king. It is again mentioned that the provinces over which Viṣṇuvardhana ruled were Koṅgu, Naṅgali,

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VI, Cm, 99.(2) *Ibid.*, Kd., 69.(3) *Ibid.*, IV, Ng. 70.(4) *Ibid.*, XII, Ok, 29, 30.

Talakāḍ, Gaṅgavāḍi, Nōlambavāḍi, Banavāse, Huligere, Halasige, and Belvola.¹ It may be that only some southern portions of the Nōlambavāḍi Province were annexed by Viṣṇuvardhana to his kingdom.

On the conclusion of the Hoysala-Pāṇḍya war in 1116, Viṣṇuvardhana started leading predatory excursions into the Pāṇḍya territories. Two undated inscriptions describe him as the capturer of Gaṅgavāḍi, Nōlambavāḍi, Uccaṅgi and Ilānugul.² This only shows that he had not yet defeated the Pāṇḍyas, but was merely raiding their kingdom. We, however, conclude by saying that Viṣṇuvardhana was not completely successful in his policy towards Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya. The only result of these raids was that a small portion of southern Nōlambavāḍi was lost to the Pāṇḍyas. At any rate it is difficult to believe, though it is commonly assumed, that the celebrated fort of Uccaṅgi was ever captured by the Hoysalas during the life-time of Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya.

We are told in a Kadamba inscription belonging to Taila II of Hāṅgal that he married a Pāṇḍya princess named Bācalādēvi.³ She was probably a sister of Irukkavēla Tribhuvanamalla who was the contemporary of Tallapa. This event might suggest a political alliance concluded between the two neighbouring feudatory powers with a view to defending each other's territories. Indeed a glance at the state of affairs in the Karnāṭaka would show that the times of Irukkavēla were very troublous on account of the Cōḷa-Cālukya wars on the one hand and the growing power of the Hoysalas on the other. As we have already seen, the Hoysalas under Viṣṇuvardhana had risen to prominence and were attempting to impose their overlordship on the neighbouring kings.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VI, Kd, 80; Cm, 160.

(2) *Ibid.*, V, Cn, 212, VI, Tk, 76.

(3) *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 254.

We said above that Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya enjoyed greater power than was enjoyed by his peers. It was thus natural that he had some minor feudatories as his immediate subordinates. Some of these feudatories are referred to in his inscriptions. One of the most powerful of these was Mahāsāmanta Dēkarasa. In an inscription found in Dāvānagero Tālukā, dated in A. D. 1101, he is reported to have made a grant for the god Sōmēśvara of Kodaṅganūr.¹ Again an inscription of A. D. 1106 tells us that he made a grant of ten per cent of the principle customs duties on areca-nut, betel-leaf and grain of the *agrahāra* town Bāḍa for the god Allaṣēśvara.² This work of merit, says the epigraph, the managers of the customs and the fifty Brāhmanas should maintain. A Jagalūr inscription, dated in A. D. 1111, refers to Mahāsāmanta Mallarasa who is described as a dweller at Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya's lotus-feet.³ Besides being a minor chief, he was in charge of *perjjuṇka* (big customs) of the Nōlambavāḍi Province.⁴ In the same inscription a certain *Perggade* Hēma-ṣeṭṭi who was ruling the *Perjjuṇka* of the Kaḍambalige Thousand is also mentioned. It is interesting to note that even a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* by name Gaṭṭiyarasa was ruling Kōgali as a subordinate of Irukkavēḷa Pāṇḍya.⁵ An inscription found at Kuñcūru mentions one Iruṅgarasa of Koñcapura, a subordinate of the Pāṇḍya chief.⁶

Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya extended the limits of his ancestral kingdom far and wide. In fact, he seems to have ruled over almost the whole of Nōlambavāḍi Province. We saw above that he was the immediate overlord of Gaṭṭeyarasa, the ruler of Kōgali Five-hundred. The Kaḍambalige Thousand Province was included in his kingdom.⁷ In 1101 A. D. Irukkavēḷa was also in charge of the Ballakunḍē Three-

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 151.(2) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 139.(3) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Jl. 9.(4) *Ibid.*(5) Rangaacharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, I. p. 290.(6) *South Ind. Ep.*, 244 of 1918.(7) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Jl. 9.

hundred,¹ a province which later on became famous as the hereditary domain of the Kurgōḷ Sindas. The very fact that his inscriptions are found scattered in the Bellāry, Chitaldroog and Shimoga Districts amply indicates the extended boundaries of the Pāṇḍya kingdom under Irukkavēla. Thus Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya transmitted to his successor a kingdom which had increased much in area and splendour during his reign extending for a period of about half a century.

Reading the inscriptions of Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya, one feels that he was an active prince blessed with indomitable energy. His services in the expulsion of the Cōlas from Nōlambavāḍi appear to have been brought him great renown. He took a personal part in every war and often led the forces of his Emperor Vikrama. His rule must have been a peaceful and prosperous one despite the wars he indulged in. Judging from records, trade and industry should have flourished. Irukkavēla Pāṇḍya was active in maintaining temples in his domain. The king and his officers are recorded to have made many liberal endowments to various temples.²

Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya died in A. D. 1124 and was succeeded by his son Kāya Pāṇḍya.³

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 128, 151.

(2) *Ibid.*, XI, Dg. 135, 139, 155 etc.

(3) *Ibid.*, XI, Dg. 2.

CHAPTER V.

TRIBHUVANAMALLA RĀYA PĀṆDYA.

Rāya Pāṇḍya, also known as Rāja Pāṇḍya,¹ who assumed his father's title *Tribhuvanamalla*, succeeded to the Pāṇḍya throne in A. D. 1124.² Viṣṇuvardhana Hoysala was still aggressive in his foreign policy. He continued to lead military expeditions against the neighbouring kingdoms till A. D. 1130, when he attacked Hāṅgal, the Kadamba capital, with the intention of finally overthrowing the Kadambas and annexing their kingdom.³ In that year, the Kadamba king Tailapa II was either killed in the thick of fight or was captured and beheaded by Viṣṇuvardhana.⁴ Thus when the Hoysala monarch was engaged in a deadly combat with the Kadambas of Hāṅgal, Rāya Pāṇḍya seems to have lost no time in strengthening the southern boundaries of his kingdom.

We saw in the last chapter that towards the close of Irukkavēla Pāṇḍya's reign, the Pāṇḍyas of Uccaṅgi had lost certain portions spread in the Shimoga District. In spite of these lost possessions, they still continued to hold a considerable tract of land in the Sāntāḷige Province. In fact, Rāya Pāṇḍya is described as ruling over the Nōlambavāḍi and Sāntāḷige provinces in the year of his coronation.⁵ The same is repeated by a Channagiri inscription dated in A. D. 1125.⁶ It seems that the unhappy Sāntāḷige Province was completely torn into many political divisions among the various neighbouring dynasties. The Kadambas of Hāṅgal are said to have been ruling over a portion of that province till A. D. 1130.⁷ Viṣṇuvardhana, after defeating the army of

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 41.

(3) *Ibid.*, XII, Tp. 31; VII, Hl. 47.

(5) *Ibid.*, XI, Dg. 2.

(7) *Ibid.*, VII, Hl. 47.

(2) *Ibid.*, 2.

(4) *Ibid.*, XII, Tp. 31.

(6) *Ibid.*, VII, Hl. 61.

Jagaddēva, the Sāntara king, had already annexed the eastern part of Sāntalige to his growing kingdom.¹ The district of Dummi Twelve, where the battle between Rāya Pāṇḍya's father and Viṣṇuvardhana was fought, was still in the possession of the Pāṇḍyas.²

Rāya Pāṇḍya appears to have taken many measures to protect these tracts from the aggressive policy of the Hoysalas. With this end in view, he secured the efficient services of two minister-generals, Sūrya and Āditya, sons of Sēnāvara.³ Both of them were experienced military officers who had ably served the great Emperor Vikramāditya VI. It is said of Āditya that he "was master of all the property of Cālukya Vikramāditya-dēva's court, the rod in Tribhuvanamalla Permādi Dēva's right hand, the beloved son of the famous Sēnāvara-daṇḍanātha, an axe to the forest of the race of the irresistible Durvinīta-daṇḍanātha, a mirror to the closed goblet-breast of the Āndhris, a golden flower-ornament to the curls of the Kuntalis".⁴

It is certain that Viṣṇuvardhana had to deal with a powerful enemy if he wished to invade the Nōlambavāḍi Province. By reading the Dāvaṇagere inscription, which hyperbolically describes the military qualities of Rāya Pāṇḍya, one feels that he was a great warrior-king of his times. "Throughout the ocean girdled globe what great warrior", asks the composer, "with heart of bravery, will oppose with anger the king Pāṇḍya?"⁵ At any rate, it is plain that the Hoysala monarch did not dare to continue predatory raids in the Pāṇḍya territory.

Rāya Pāṇḍya was the worthy son of a great father. It is said that he was "reputed as having a fortune four inches higher" (*chatur aṅgulōnnataśrī*) than his father, and a king whose valour was unbounded.⁶ It should not be supposed

(1) *Ep. Car.*, V, Bl. 58.

(3) *Ibid.*, XI, Dg. 90.

(5) *Ibid.*

(2) *Ibid.*, VII, Cl. 61.

(4) *Ibid.*, XI, Dg. 90.

(6) *Ibid.*, 41.

that Rāya Pāṇḍya was always on his defensive. We know that the stronger *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvarian* families in those days often tried to subjugate their weaker neighbouring rulers. Rāya Pāṇḍya has been described in some inscriptions as subduing kings, defeating powerful heroes, and thus acquiring the name for surpassing courage. It may be inferred from these records that he had brought under his immediate supremacy a number of minor feudatory chiefs, ruling over the borders of his kingdom and also annexed the territories of some of them. Among such families that fell a prey to Rāya Pāṇḍya was the Kadamba dynasty of Moḷakālmūru, the capital of which was Laṅke in the Chitaldroog District. As there is a blank in the history of this dynasty during the reign of Rāya Pāṇḍya, the family seems to have fallen on evil days with the conquest and annexation of its kingdom by the Pāṇḍyas.

The fact that Rāya Pāṇḍya was a powerful ruler was well remembered by the later kings of the dynasty. Thus an inscription of Vijaya Pāṇḍya dated in A. D. 1165 describes Rāya Pāṇḍya as a confounder of the Cōla king, destroyer of Nēpāl, an invincible barrier to the serpent Kaliṅga, uprooter of the unsubmissive Siṃhala, Cayēdra, Siṅgha, and Kauluṭa kings.¹ Similarly another record, which was put up only three years after the above, states that Rāya Pāṇḍya was "the self-chosen husband of the goddess of heroism in having defeated mighty foes by his valour."² It is true that the above description is fictitious. Nevertheless it conveys us the idea that Rāya Pāṇḍya was looked upon as a brave warrior by his successors.

The inscriptions disclose the name of Sōvalādēvi, the chief queen of Rāya Pāṇḍya.³ We are told in one of these records that she was the daughter of a certain Billava Rāya and the younger sister of king Vikramāditya. This Vikramā-

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 77.

(2) *Ibid.*, 39.

(3) *Ibid.*, 5, 39, 41, 76.

ditya was, according to a Bellāry inscription, a chieftain under the Cālukyas.¹ Sōvalādēvi was the most favourite wife of her husband; for it is expressly stated that her "lotus feet were kissed by the clusters of bees the curls on foreheads of the co-wives."² The same fact is repeated by another epigraph which says that "the circle of the toe nails of her feet was upheld by the jewelled crowns of all the co-wives doing obeisance."³ She was reckoned "the only jewel among women in all the earth" in all virtues and dignity⁴. Her description that she was by nature "the field of union of conjugal devotion and beauty"⁵ would suggest that she was a woman of great beauty. That she was a liberal patron of literature is perhaps evidenced by the statement that she was praised by distinguished learned men.⁶ Sōvalādēvi, who, on becoming the king's consort, "obtained hero wischood," and on bearing the three sons, Paṇḍita Pāṇḍya, Vira Pāṇḍya and Vijaya Pāṇḍya "obtained hero motherhood."⁷

Among the minor feudatories and officials of Rāya-Pāṇḍya was a Gaṅgarasa, ruling the Kukkuvaḍi Three Hundred, which lay in the Hojalkere Tālukā of the Chitaldroog District.⁸ He was a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* with numerous epithets including "boon lord of Kōlālapura, lord of Nandagiri, *nanūiya-Gaṅga*, *Jayad-uttaraṅga*, having the crest of a rutting elephant, his father's shining sword (*ayyana candra-hāsa*)."⁹ In this connection, it is interesting to note that a potter Bommaṇa, who is said to have been a *prabhu-gāvaṇḍa* under this Gaṅga chief, once took a strict vow not to anoint the head or eat till he had set up a certain god.¹⁰ In A. D. 1124 we come across an officer who made a grant for the god Vāsudēva of Rāyarāja-Bannalūr, set up in the *paḍivīḍu*

(1) Rangacharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, I, p. 281.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 77.

(3) *Ibid.*, 39.

(4) *Ibid.*, 41.

(5) *Ibid.*, 39.

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) *Ibid.*, 77.

(8) *Ibid.*, Hk. 68.

(9) *Ibid.*

(10) *Ibid.*, XI, Hk. 68.

of *parichhēdi-gaṇḍa* Pallava Rāya, ruler of Kuruṅguḍi.¹ This Pallava Rāya was undoubtedly a feudatory of the Pāṇḍyas. It seems that he, having faithfully served his master, received the Pāṇḍya title *parichhēdi-gaṇḍa*. The same Pallava Rāya is mentioned in the Channagiri inscription, dated in 1125, wherein he is described as the *Mahāsāmanta* protecting Bilici Seventy and the Dummi Twelve with enjoyment for three generations.² The same year the *Mahāsāmanta* Sōmarasa was protecting with due rights the *manneya* in the Bilici Seventy.³

As the last date for Rāya Pāṇḍya is in A. D. 1139⁴, it may be inferred that he died in or about 1140.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 2. (2) *Ibid.*, VII, Ci, 61. (3) *Ibid.*, XI, Dg. 90.

(4) Rangaacharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, I, p. 300.

CHAPTER VI.

PANḌITA PĀṆDYA AND TAILAPA.

Panḍita Pāṇḍya was the eldest son of Rāya Pāṇḍya and of Sōvalādēvi.¹ We do not possess any grant of this king. From this it is possible to deduce that his reign was a very short one. We would have had at least one grant if he had ruled for a longer period. Mr. Rice doubts whether Panḍita Pāṇḍya had come to the throne at all.² But the fact that he is described in terms of high praise as a king in later inscriptions would have us believe that he was a ruling king. As the earliest inscription of his younger brother is dated in 1143, it may be inferred that Panḍita Pāṇḍya reigned between the short interval of about one year, following the death of his father in A. D. 1140.

Panḍita Pāṇḍya had for his preceptor the learned Kannada poet Madhusūdana, the composer of a Dāvanagere inscription of Vīra-Pāṇḍya's reign.³ It seems that Panḍita Pāṇḍya turned out to be a great scholar under the guidance of this celebrated teacher. A highly exaggerated description of Panḍita Pāṇḍya's learning and other qualities, written by Madhusūdana himself, has come down to us.

According to another inscription, he was a skilful conversationalist "who quickly reconciled the goddess of eloquence, dispelling her great antipathy".⁴ He is called a *Vidyādhara* in one place.⁵ As a matter of fact, *Panḍita* does not seem to be his real name, but only an appellation accorded to him on account of his profound scholarship.

One of the Pāṇḍya records discloses the name of Tailapa, the son of Panḍita Pāṇḍya.⁶ But he seems not to have come to the throne.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 77, 5, 41, 39.

(2) Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 151.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 41.

(4) *Ibid.*, 39.

(5) *Ibid.*, 5.

(6) *Ibid.*, 41.

CHAPTER VII.

VĪRA-PĀṆDYA.

On the death of Paṇḍita Pāṇḍya, his younger brother Vira-Pāṇḍya ascended the throne of Nōlambavāḍi. This event seems to have happened a few years prior to A. D. 1143, as three of his inscriptions are dated in that year.¹ In 1148, Vira-Pāṇḍya is represented as ruling the Nōlambavāḍi and many other countries as a minor.² Mr. Rice suggests that it may mean that Vira-Pāṇḍya was ruling as a minor or from boyhood. As the inscription making the above statement was set up many years after his coronation, it is difficult to agree with Mr. Rice and to maintain that he was a minor even towards the close of his reign. For we learn from other records that Vira-Pāṇḍya had two wives,³ who were evidently married to him before A. D. 1148. In our opinion the word *kumāra-vṛtti* is not used here to mean a minor. *Kumāra* also means an heir-apparent.⁴ It seems to us that it is used here only to convey the idea that Vira-Pāṇḍya succeeded his brother only because he was appointed an heir-apparent during the life time of his predecessor. Strictly speaking, he possessed no legal rights to ascend the Pāṇḍya throne as long as his older brother's son Tailapa was living. But Tailapa being a mere child of only a few years, Vira-Pāṇḍya seems to have usurped the throne for himself. The composer of the inscription perhaps wanted to defend Vira-Pāṇḍya, thereby declaring that he had every right to become king as he was chosen the heir-apparent (*kumāra*) in the previous reign.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 4, 85, 168.

(2) *Ibid.*, Dg. 41,

(3) *Ibid.*, XI, 43; *South Ind. Ep.*, Nos. 238 and 240 of 1918.

(4) See Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 410.

Viṣṇuvardhana having died in 1141,¹ the warlike spirit of the Hoysaḷas evidently suffered a check for want of capable military leaders. Narasiṃha, the son and successor or Viṣṇuvardhana, was a mere child of eight years at the death of his father,² and throughout his life he remained a weak ruler.

The kingdom of Pāṇḍyas seems to have been extended in its southern borders during this reign. The southern outlying portions of the Pāṇḍya kingdom, which were conquered by Viṣṇuvardhana in the first quarter of that century, were now recovered by Vīra-Pāṇḍya. The fact that two of his inscriptions are found in the Channagiri Tālukā of the Shimoga District³ is a clear indication that the eastern part of the district was included in his domain.

A grant of A. D. 1145 says that Vīra-Pāṇḍya subdued Maḷe and gave it to the "ornament of the Cālukyas."⁴ This apparently refers to an event connected with the Hoysaḷa king Narasiṃha who continued the struggle against the Cālukyas and the Hāṅgaḷ Kadambas on his father's death. A *viragat* of A. D. 1143 records that when Mallik-āṛjuna Kadamba was ruling the kingdom of the Haive Five-hundred, Mahālige, Koṇḍaraḍe, Kubbunālige, the Four Bāda and Mōgala-nāḍ, the Hoysala raised a great army against Mahālige.⁵ The Maḷe referred to in the Pāṇḍya record can be identified with Haive Five-hundred, the province lying on the slopes of the Western Ghāts. In a Dāvaṇagere record of Vīra-Pāṇḍya, dated in 1143, we are told that the Cālukya Emperor attacked the Hoysala king and increased his fame by capturing his elephant.⁶ All this clearly shows that Jagadēkamalla, with the help of his feudatory

(1) *Ep. Car.* VI, On. 96.

(2) *Ibid.*, V, Bl. 93.

(4) *Ibid.* XI, Dg. 168.

(6) *Ibid.*, XI, Dg. 58.

(3) *Ibid.*, VII, Cī, 39, 40.

(5) *Ibid.*, VII, Sa. 58.

Vīra Pāṇḍya, defeated the Hoysala king Narasiṃha and restored the Hāṅgal king to his dominions. This is further evidenced by a Kadamba inscription of 1145 which describes the Hāṅgal king as ruling his kingdom under the Cālukya Emperor Perma-Jagadēkamalla.¹ The part played by Vīra-Pāṇḍya in the struggle seems to be of much significance. Hence the epigraph proudly states that he subdued Male and gave it to the ornament of the Cālukyas.

But the greatest achievement of Vīra-Pāṇḍya appears to be the valuable services he rendered to his Emperor in driving away the Cōlas. A Pāṇḍya record of 1143 A. D. describes the Cālukya Emperor as Kuntulu-Rāya and as frightening and driving away in alarm the Cōla king in battle and to have made the *Cōlnela* (the Cōla country) to be as if an *Ālnela* (slave or servant country).² In recognition of his services, Vīra-Pāṇḍya seems to have been properly honoured by Jagadēkamalla II. It is expressly stated in one place that "Vīra-Pāṇḍya, the favourite of the world, thence received the name of king Jagadēkamalla from breaking down the pride of the courage of mighty enemies".³

A record of A. D. 1148 says that Vīra-Pāṇḍya made the mighty Gaṅga, Kalinga, Vaṅga, Māru, Gurjjara, Kēraḷa, Cēra, Cōla, Gauḍa, Aṅga, Varāṭa, Lāṭa, Khāsa, Barbara, Kōsala, Kuru, Prathara, Āndhra, Turuṣka and Māgadha kings to tremble.⁴ It is needless to say that the statement is merely fictitious. Nevertheless, it is not written without its value inasmuch as it was meant only to show that Vīra-Pāṇḍya was a mighty warrior. It is, however, certain that he was as great a feudatory as his two famous contemporaries, namely, Permāḍi I, the Sinda King of Yelburga and Jayakēśi II, the Kadamba king of Goa. He commanded such great political influence, especially in the southern half of the

(1) *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, I, p. 772, referred to by Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 562.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 85.

(3) *Ibid.*, 41.

(4) *Ibid.*

Cālukyan Empire, that he is aptly styled "the Emperor of the Southern region" in a record found at Hoḷal'.

Soon after his accession Vira-Pāṇḍya must have transferred the seat of his government from Bēlṭūr to Uccaṅgi. Up to this time, the latter place was known to history only as a celebrated fort, standing a few miles north-east of Bēlṭūr. Many of his inscriptions show Vira-Pāṇḍya ruling the Nōlambavāḍi kingdom from the fort of Uccaṅgi.² The earliest which is dated in 1143 expressly states that Vira-Pāṇḍya putting down the evil and upholding the good in the Nōlambavāḍi Thirty-two thousand was in the residence of the Uccaṅgi fort, ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom.³ Uccaṅgi is called a *Rājadhāni* in A. D. 1149.⁴ That this new capital soon grew into a big city is evidenced by a record of 1145, in which the place is described by the name *Jagadēkamalla Pāṇḍyanagari*, or the city of Jagadēkamalla Pāṇḍya.⁵ To the south of the capital, adorned with the temple of Vira-Nāgēśvara, was Vira-pura,⁶ which was evidently a suburb of the royal town.

Vira-Pāṇḍya is also credited with establishing a second capital at Cāge, also known as Bāge. We are told that the *Sēnāpati-daṇḍanātha* was in this royal city (*Rājadhāni*) in A. D. 1143.⁷ The creation of a second capital was perhaps necessitated by the southern extension of the Pāṇḍya territories during this reign. Records show that Vira-Pāṇḍya was also ruling the Kaḍambalige Thousand Province,⁸ which was to the east of the Tuṅgabhadra and extended down to Hoḷalkere, thus lying between Nōlambavāḍi and Banavāse.

(1) Rangacharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, I. p. 28.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Ci; 38, 39; XI, Dg, 4, 168.

(3) *Ibid.*, XI, Dg, 4.

(4) *Ibid.*, XII, Ci, 38.

(5) *Ibid.* XI, Dg. 168.

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) *Ibid.*, 85.

(8) Rangacharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, I, p. 299.

Vīra-Pāṇḍya encouraged learning and literary pursuits. There flourished at his court the Kannada poet Madhusūdana¹ who, as we have seen in the last chapter, was the preceptor of Paṇḍita Pāṇḍya. The poet describes himself as "the chief worshipper of the feet of the great king Vīra-Pāṇḍya".² No work of his has come down to us except an inscription which he composed in verso.³ It may be easily inferred from the style of this inscription that Madhusūdana was a poet of considerable merit. His description of Vīra-Pāṇḍya written in *Vṛtta* and *Kanda* metres is a good specimen of the *Kāvya* style.

That Vīra-Pāṇḍya was a skilful and intrepid warrior who acquired great glory by the strength and prowess of his arm is borne out by several enthusiastic terms of the inscriptions.⁴ It is said that "putting down the arrogant who were struggling for precedence before him, and chasing them away terrified, the fame of king Pāṇḍya was spread on all the points of the compass".⁵ Of his other personal accomplishments, besides his military prowess, the inscriptions do not speak much.

We are told in a Kadamba inscription, belonging to Permāḍi (Śivacitta) of Goa that he married a Pāṇḍya princess, "born of a king of the race of the moon".⁶ The princess spoken here was possibly the sister of Vīra-Pāṇḍya.

Vīra-Pāṇḍya married Gaṅgādēvi, the daughter of Āditya-danḍanātha and Vijayādēvi, the younger sister of one Vikramāditya.⁷ The former, after her marriage, was renamed Mahādēvi according to Hindu customs⁸. Her father who was raised by the Cālukya Emperor to the position of a *mahāpradhāna-sikhāmaṇi* (head of great ministers) was

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg, 41(2) *Ibid.*(3) *Ibid.*(4) *Ibid.*, 39, 41.(5) *Ibid.*, 41.(6) *Fleet, Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba King of Goa*, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IX, p. 274.(7) *Ibid.*, 41.(8) *Ibid.*

famed 'throughout the world'.¹ Mahādēvi is said to be distinguished of descent, beauty, virtue and dignity.² Vijayādēvi, the younger wife, who was known for her beautiful eyes, is described as "a vine of plenty of the learned".³ That she was of a religious turn of mind is evidenced by her two grants found at Alagilavāḍa.⁴

According to inscriptions, Vīra-Pāṇḍya had under him able generals and officials. Foremost among his generals was his father-in-law Āditya-daṇḍanātha referred to above. An inscription dated in 1177 A. D. informs us that he was made a minister in the next reign by Vijaya-Pāṇḍya.⁵ Āditya's brother Sūrya had a son Śēnāpati-daṇḍanātha, described as the "soul of Vīra-Pāṇḍya's city".⁶ In A. D. 1143 he was residing in the royal city (*rājadhāni*) of Cāge or Bāge, the second capital of the Pāṇḍya kingdom.⁷

Mahāsāmantu Sōma or Sōvi-dēva, who is said to have gained great fame by the conquest of hostile kings, is mentioned in a Channagiri inscription assigned to A.D. 1149.⁸ His son Ēdavari-dēva, "a great promoter of works of merit" made a grant of land for the god Mallikārjuna of Sosalugere.⁹ This Ēdavari-dēva, whose wives were Candalādēvi, Gaṅgarasi and Honnarasi, is called his older brother's rutting elephant in another record.¹⁰ The same inscription refers to the chiefs of Bilici Seventy, who were evidently under the Pāṇḍyas. Among other officers of some note was "Vīra-Pāṇḍya's chief agent Perggaḍe-dēva, mentioned in an inscription of 1145 as making grants in favour of god Nāgēśvara of Virapura."¹¹

A feudatory of the Pāṇḍyas worthy of note is referred to in a record from Bellary District.¹² He is described as a

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 41.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *South Ind. Ep.*, Nos. 239 and 240 of 1918.

(5) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 86.

(6) *Ibid.*, 85.

(7) *Ibid.*

(8) *Ibid.*, VII, Ci. 38.

(9) *Ibid.*

(10) *Ibid.*, 39.

(11) *Ibid.*, XI, Dg. 168.

(12) *South Ind. Ep.*, Nos. 210 of 1918.

Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, and the lord of Banavāsi. The fact that he bears these titles may lead us to conclude that he was a member of the Kadamba family of Nōlam̐bavādi. The inscription states that he was ruling over the Koṭṭūru Twelve and Kōgali Five-hundred from Koṭṭūru, evidently the chief town of the former division.

A number of grants made by Vira-Pāṇḍya amply prove that he was a liberal monarch, spending a considerable portion of his income in making endowments to temples.

At the time of a solar eclipse in 1148 he made great gifts at the confluence of the Tūṅgabhadrā and Ilaridrā.¹ There is little doubt that the grants claiming to be issued by the Emperor Janamējaya at this spot in connection with the *Sarpa-yāga* or serpent sacrifice emanated from this Pāṇḍya prince.²

Vira-Pāṇḍya was indeed a successful ruler and it stands to his credit that he recovered the Kuḍambalige Province, which had been annexed by Viṣṇuvardhana to the Hoysaḷa kingdom.

The last date for Vira-Pāṇḍya, as furnished by a Lakṣmēśvar inscription, is in December A. D. 1152.³ We also learn from this inscription that Vira-Pāṇḍya was royally administering the seignior (manneya) of the Puligere country, evidently under the Cālukya Emperor Taila III.⁴

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg, 41.

(2) See *Ep. Car.*, VII, Introduction, p. 1.

(3) *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 43.

(4) In this connection, Prof. Moraes in his *Kadamba Kula* remarks: "It may be inferred from this inscription that Vira-Pāṇḍya of Uoosāgi was a feudatory of the Kadambas and that he was in-charge of the Puligere country". (p. 137). But the wording of the inscription leads to no such inference. It is only stated that Vira-Pāṇḍya was administering the manneya of the Puligere-nāḍ, which must be taken as under the Cālukya Emperor Taila III who is mentioned in the inscription.

CHAPTER VIII

KĀMA-DEVĀ VIJAYA PĀṆDYA.

On the death of Vīra-Pāṇḍya which must have taken place in or about 1153, the succession to the Pāṇḍya throne seems to have been disputed by Palamāṇḍa Pāṇḍya, also known as Palatṭa. We learn from a record of 1148 that Vīra-Pāṇḍya had a younger brother Palamāṇḍa in addition to Vijaya Pāṇḍya.¹ But the fact that Palamāṇḍa Pāṇḍya is not mentioned as a direct brother of Vīra-Pāṇḍya in any record while Vijaya Pāṇḍya is explicitly described as such² leads us to believe that Palamāṇḍa was only a half-brother of Vīra-Pāṇḍya. This inference seems to be further supported by the fact that Rāya-Pāṇḍya, the father of Vīra-Pāṇḍya, had other wives besides Sōvalādēvi, the mother of Paṇḍita Pāṇḍya, Vīra-Pāṇḍya and Vijaya Pāṇḍya³. It is quite possible that Palamāṇḍa Pāṇḍya wanted to make himself the king of Nōlambavāḍi on his half-brother's death.

An inscription dated in 1161 A. D. indirectly refers to this dispute of succession.⁴ In it we are told that the Sēnāpati-danḍanātha, the son of Sūryāndanātha, was the chief person responsible for "the promotion of peaceful succession". "As for his experience", says the epigraph, "it was he who chose from among the sons of the Pāṇḍya king, from the former Palatṭa downwards, and held up or established the king, and made the kingdom strong; without him they were ciphers (*pūjya*)". Though there is some exaggeration in this statement, it can be safely inferred that Sēnāpati-danḍanātha was a very able minister who had grown old in the service of the Pāṇḍya kings. His influence in the

(1) *Eg. Car.*, XI, Dg. 41.

(2) *Ibid.*, 39, 77.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*, 34.

previous reign was so great that he is styled the "soul of Vira-Pāṇḍya's city".¹ Hence it is not unreasonable to think that the above description of his abilities is not without any element of truth in it. It cannot be called an extraordinary pretention as Mr. Rice remarks.² We have seen in a previous chapter that the succession of Vira-Pāṇḍya was also disputed. Considering all these facts, as put forward by inscriptions, one has to admit that Vijaya Pāṇḍya had to fight against his half-brother Palamāṇḍa before proclaiming himself the king of Nolaṃbavaḍi, and that he was greatly assisted in his attempt by the experienced minister-general Sēnāpati-daṇḍanātha. We place the date of Vijaya Pāṇḍya's actual coronation in or about A. D. 1155.

Kāma-dēva does not seem to be the real name of Vijaya-Pāṇḍya, though he is called by it in some records. It was perhaps an appellation accorded to him on account of his beautiful personality. *Kāma-dēva*, according to Hindu mythology, is the God of Love and Beauty. The only record which gives his full name calls him "king Nigalaṅkamalla Vijaya Śrī-Pāṇḍya, with the celebrated appellation *Kāma*." Vijaya-Pāṇḍya like his predecessors remained as the feudatory of the Cālukyas for the first nine years of his reign, after which he seems to have been forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Kālacūrya king Bijjaḷa.

This period witnessed the steady decline of the Western Cālukya supremacy. Bijjaḷa of the Kālacūrya family, who discharged for a time the dual functions of general and minister of the Cālukyas, used the enormous power he had acquired by virtue of these offices to the usurpation of the imperial throne.³ We learn from one of the inscriptions that consequent on the overthrow of the Cālukya power,

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 85.

(2) *Ibid.* XI, Introduction, p. 17.

(3) *Ibid.* XI, Dg. 39.

(4) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 416.

Taīla III, who was then the Cālukya Emperor, was forced to beat a precipitate retreat southwards to take refuge at Banavāsi.¹ This event happened in 1156.

The flight of the Cālukya Emperor to the south presented a very favourable opportunity to king Bijjaḷa to subjugate the famous Pāṇḍyas of Uccaṅgi. But it was not an easy task to cow down the Pāṇḍya king Kāma-dēva. In fact Bijjaḷa seems to have taken full five years to make the Pāṇḍyas acknowledge his suzerainty. Thus, one of the inscriptions of Vijaya Pāṇḍya, dated in 1161, mentions him as a subordinate of king Bijjaḷa, who is here styled the *Bhujabala-Cakravarti Tribhuvanamalla*.²

But the overlordship of the Kālacūryas over the Pāṇḍyas existed only for a short period of four years. The last mention of it is in a Dēvaṇagere inscription, dated in A. D. 1164, where Vijaya Pāṇḍya is described as devoted to the service of king Bijjaḷa.³ It was in this year that the Cālukya king Jagadēkamalla III ascended the throne, though perhaps only to rule as nominal sovereign. Nevertheless, this event seems to have filled Vijaya Pāṇḍya's heart with more confidence in order to free himself from the Kālacūrya yoke and to pay allegiance to his old masters. At any rate, it is plain from a record, dated in 1165, that Vijaya Pāṇḍya succeeded in his attempt. For the inscription clearly implies that Vijaya Pāṇḍya had then recognised the overlordship of Jagadēkamalla III. This was naturally considered a great achievement on the part of the Pāṇḍya prince. We are told that "all the people praised him, saying that "his white umbrella, was a shady place for the goddess of kingdom to stand in and a refuge for the goddess of discipline" and that "his arm was an abode for the goddess of victory."⁴ In this record, Jagadēkamalla III is given the full Cālukya titles and called *Pratāpa-Cakravarti*.

(1) *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, II, p. 16; referred to by Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 467.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 84.

(3) *Ibid.* 43.

(4) *Ibid.*, XI, Dg. 77.

The position of the Cālukya sovereign Jagadēkamalla was like that of a nominal ruler, the actual powers of the sovereign being in the hands of Bijjala. Vijaya Pāṇḍya who had so far entertained hopes that the Cālukya suzerainty would be restored and therefore thought it wise to acknowledge it in his records, now seems to have revised his opinion in favour of setting himself as an independent monarch. Accordingly, from A. D. 1166 down to 1176 he was free from any overlord.

During this period of independence, he gloriously enjoyed his new position undisturbed by the neighbouring powers. In token of his splendour, the Māvayagere inscription dated a few months after his independence says that the points of his crown were formed of separate large sapphires and his victories adorned with golden bracelets.¹ He subdued in mere sport the seven Koṅkaṇas, set up in the Kanaka mountain a pillar of victory with the fish-crest, had a treasury filled with many jewels set with pearls purified by the Tāmbra-parṇi, and had a pleasure palace among the sandal trees on the slopes of the Malaya mountain.² The record further says that he reduced *bhūtas* and *bēlāḷas* to be his servants, took possession of the territories of many hostile kings, and subdued by assault many unfriendly water and hill-forts. This latter statement coupled with his conquest of the Seven Koṅkaṇas and the erection of a pleasure house on the slopes of the Malaya mountain, would have us believe that Vijaya Pāṇḍya had reduced some petty chiefs and wild tribes of the Western Ghāts and secured for himself some territory in that forest region. The *Bhūtas* and *Bēlāḷas* may be taken as representing the half-naked *Bēḍa* tribes of the forest.

With the accession of Ballāḷa II to the Hoysaḷa throne in A. D. 1173, begins a new chapter in the annals of t

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 77.

(2) *Ibid.*, XI, Dg. 5.

Pāṇḍya kingdom. This was the period when the Hoysaḷas under their new king were gaining ascendancy in the Kar-nāṭaka. Immediately after his conquest over the Caṅgāḷvas, Ballāḷa directed his attention north-wards and determined to attack the Pāṇḍyas of Uccaṅgi. The object of Ballāḷa II in attacking the Pāṇḍya king was apparently to have a strong-hold in the strategic province of Nōlambavāḍi from which he could start his expeditions to the north against the Yādavas and the Kālaṇḍīyas.

A number of Hoysaḷa inscriptions give us a sufficient idea of how the celebrated fort of Uccaṅgi was attacked and finally captured by Ballāḷa.¹ The earliest of these records found in Chikkanāyakanahalli Tālukā is dated the 26th September of A. D. 1177. It states that Vira-Ballāḷa having made a victorious expedition to all quarters and conquered Pāṇḍya, made Uccaṅgi his royal city, and was ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom."² This record indicates that Vira-Ballāḷa's capture of Uccaṅgi and the defeat of Vijaya Pāṇḍya took place a few months before the 26th September of 1177 A. D.

Highly exaggerated accounts of the strength of the Uccaṅgi fort occur in some inscriptions: Thus we are told that its extent was such as to enclose the three worlds, while its summits soared into the sky higher than the king of birds.³ It was surrounded with "a moat like Pāṇḍya, as broad as the eight cardinal points, high as the sky extending in both directions, so that it was famed in the three worlds".⁴ "The *Garuḍa* who soars at will over the three worlds, is unable to fly over the highest peak of Pāṇḍya's splendid droog."⁵ The invincibility of the fort is suggested by the repeated state-

(1) *Ep. Car.* II.Sb, 327; V. Cn. 209, Bl, 72, 77, 137, 175, Ak, 178; VI, Cm, 21-22, Kd, 127, Tk, 10; VII, Sk, 105, XII, Ck, 36.

(2) *Ibid.*, XII, Ck, 36.

(3) *Ibid.*, V, Cn, 209.

(4) *Ibid.*, V, Bl, 72; VI, Tk, 10.

(5) *Ibid.*, VI, Cm. 21-22.

The position of the Cālukya sovereign Jagadēkamalla was like that of a nominal ruler, the actual powers of the sovereign being in the hands of Bijjaḷa. Vijaya Pāṇḍya who had so far entertained hopes that the Cālukya suzerainty would be restored and therefore thought it wise to acknowledge it in his records, now seems to have revised his opinion in favour of setting himself as an independent monarch. Accordingly, from A. D. 1166 down to 1176 he was free from any overlord.

During this period of independence, he gloriously enjoyed his new position undisturbed by the neighbouring powers. In token of his splendour, the Dāvanagere inscription dated a few months after his independence says that the points of his crown were formed of separate large sapphires and his victories adorned with golden bracelets.¹ He subdued in mere sport the seven Koṅkaṇas, set up in the Kanaka mountain a pillar of victory with the fish-crest, had a treasury filled with many jewels set with pearls purified by the Tāmbra-parṇi, and had a pleasure palace among the sandal trees on the slopes of the Malaya mountain.² The record further says that he reduced *bhūtas* and *bēlāḷas* to be his servants, took possession of the territories of many hostile kings, and subdued by assault many unfriendly water and hill-forts. This latter statement coupled with his conquest of the Seven Koṅkaṇas and the erection of a pleasure house on the slopes of the Malaya mountain, would have us believe that Vijaya Pāṇḍya had reduced some petty chiefs and wild tribes of the Western Ghāts and secured for himself some territory in that forest region. The *Bhūtas* and *Bēlāḷas* may be taken as representing the half-naked *Bēḷa* tribes of the forest.

With the accession of Ballāḷa II to the Hoysaḷa throne in A. D. 1173, begins a new chapter in the annals of t

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 77.

(2) *Ibid.*, XI, Dg. 5.

Pāṇḍya kingdom. This was the period when the Hoysaḷas under their new king were gaining ascendancy in the Kārṇāṭaka. Immediately after his conquest over the Caṅgāḷas, Ballāḷa directed his attention north-wards and determined to attack the Pāṇḍyas of Uccaṅgi. The object of Ballāḷa II in attacking the Pāṇḍya king was apparently to have a stronghold in the strategic province of Nōlambavāḍi from which he could start his expeditions to the north against the Yādavas and the Kālacūryas.

A number of Hoysaḷa inscriptions give us a sufficient idea of how the celebrated fort of Uccaṅgi was attacked and finally captured by Ballāḷa.¹ The earliest of these records found in Chikkanāyakanahalli Tālukā is dated the 26th September of A. D. 1177. It states that Vīra-Ballāḷa having made a victorious expedition to all quarters and conquered Pāṇḍya, made Uccaṅgi his royal city, and was ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom.² This record indicates that Vīra-Ballāḷa's capture of Uccaṅgi and the defeat of Vijaya Pāṇḍya took place a few months before the 26th September of 1177 A. D.

Highly exaggerated accounts of the strength of the Uccaṅgi fort occur in some inscriptions: Thus we are told that its extent was such as to enclose the three worlds, while its summits soared into the sky higher than the king of birds.³ It was surrounded with "a moat like *Pātāḷa*, as broad as the eight cardinal points, high as the sky extending in both directions, so that it was famed in the three worlds".⁴ "The *Garuḍa* who soars at will over the three worlds, is unable to fly over the highest peak of Pāṇḍya's splendid droog."⁵ The invincibility of the fort is suggested by the repeated state-

(1) *Ep. Car.*, II, Sb, 327; V. On, 209, B1, 72, 77, 137, 175, Ak, 178; VI, Cm, 21-22, Kd, 127, Tk, 10; VII, Sk, 105, XII, Ck, 36.

(2) *Ibid.*, XII, Ck, 36.

(3) *Ibid.*, V, On, 209.

(4) *Ibid.*, V, B1, 72; VI, Tk, 10.

(5) *Ibid.*, VI, Cm, 21-22.

ment that the Cōḷas had laid seige to it for twelve years without success and abandoned the task as hopeless.¹

The capture of Uccaṅgi and the details of the battle are recorded in many epigraphs. Two verses of a Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa inscription describe it briefly in the following language: "When in the pride of his arm Oḍeyarasa was with great fury determined to fight, King Ballāḷa marched forth and surrounding and besieging Uccaṅgi, whose peaks had been reduced to powder by the blows from the tusks of the group of lordly elephants of his army, captured king Pāṇḍya together with his beautiful women, country, treasuries, father and group of horses. Laying siege to Uccaṅgi, which was for a long time considered impregnable to enemies, King Ballāḷa, a treasury of irresistible prowess, took the fort with ease and sieged the king Kāma-dēva and his famous Oḍeya, and their treasury, women and troops of horses."² The Oḍeyarasa mentioned here was the son of Vijaya Pāṇḍya and his full name appears to be Udayāditya. From the above extract it can be easily made out that it was he, the son, and not Kāma Dēva who commanded the Pāṇḍya forces.

The way in which Ballāḷa attacked the fort was by setting fire to it "causing consternation to the lords of regions and making a great crackling noise like that of the three terrible cities which were formerly burnt by the fiery eye of Śiva."³ The fort was destroyed as a Hāssan inscription informs us.⁴

Though the celebrated fort was captured with much difficulty, the Hoysala inscriptions on the other hand claim that it was taken with ease. It is said that Ballāḷa took it without effort, "as if playing at *āṇekal* or *tirikal*" (games in which pebbles are tossed up alternately and caught on the back of the hand, or one picked up from the

(1) *Ep. Car.*, V, Bl, 137, 175, Ak, 178.

(2) *Ibid.*, II, Sb, 327 (124)

(3) *Mys. Arch. Report.*, 1226, No. 25.

(4) *Ibid.*,

ground at the same time).¹ It was undoubtedly a thick battle when " a crore of warriors united " to attack Ballāḷa, who, it is said, fell upon them by himself and " like a boy at play, with his sword created a sea of blood."² This pitched battle is called " the battle of Ummadūr ",³ as it seems to have been fought at that place. From an inscription found in Kaḍūr Tālukā we learn that Vira-Ballāḷa attacked the rear-guard.⁴

The immediate results of the battle are thus briefly described : " Overthrown in battle, Pāṇḍya abandoned his unshaken title, and forsaking his prancing horse and the throne on which he sat, took refuge in the middle of a forest, even there apprehensive of death and consumed by fear ; thus does king Ballāḷa's astounding valour triumph."⁵ It is also said that Vijaya Pāṇḍya, giving up his desire to stay any longer, escaped by night to the summit of a mountain, trembling together with his army.⁶

But Vijaya Pāṇḍya, on second thought, seems to have returned to his capital. We know from inscriptions that he supplicated to Ballāḷa and the latter restored the Pāṇḍya throne to him. It is plainly stated that " when Pāṇḍya claimed his shelter, (Ballāḷa) had favour of him and restored to him his kingdom." Another record makes the same statement and adds that " in seizing and in bestowing, Vira-Ballāḷa was famed throughout the three worlds."⁸

Ballāḷa in this conquest was assisted by his great minister, *Sarvādhikāri*, general of the army, *Mahāpasāita*, Mādhava *Daṇḍanāyaka*, who " with his unrivalled army subduing the hostile kings, brought their fine elephants, squadrons of horses, treasury, wives, and white umbrella, and gave them to his master."⁹ Another official who dis-

(1) *Ep. Car.* V, Cm, 209.

(3) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.*, Cm, 21-22.

(7) *Ibid.*, V, Bl, 27.

(9) *Ibid.*, VII, Ck, 36.

(2) *Ibid.*, V, Bl, 175.

(4) *Ibid.*, VI, Kd, 127.

(6) *Ibid.*, VII, Sk, 105.

(8) *Ibid.*, VI, Tk, 10.

tinguished himself in this famous battle was Mādēya-Nāyaka of the *hattagāras* who "dispersing Vijaya-Pāṇḍya's army, slew them."¹

As it was a Saturday (*Śanivāra*) when the conquest of the Pāṇḍya kingdom was completed (*siddhisiddu*), Ballāḷa obtained the title *Śanivāra-siddhi*.² The other title which he acquired on the same occasion was *Giridurgamalla* or "the capturer of hill forts."³ Both these titles belonged to the Kālacūrya king Bijjala, and Ballāḷa borrowed them from him.⁴ However, the second title would undoubtedly suggest that the reduction of the impregnable fort of Uccanḡi was considered among the greatest achievements of the Hoysaḷa king.

Vijaya Pāṇḍya, though he had first accepted the overlordship of the Hoysaḷas, soon rebelled against his new suzerain and turned hostile to him. This was partly accelerated by the counter-revolution effected by the Cālukya king Sōmēśvara IV who in or about 1180 had accomplished the restoration of Cālukya rule. To add to this, Vira-Ballāḷa was in bitter enmity with Sōmēśvara IV who was then trying to extend his influence all over the Karnāṭaka. It was therefore natural that Vijaya Pāṇḍya, whose ancestors had been the faithful feudatories of the Cālukyas since the foundation of his dynasty, turned faithless to Ballāḷa. Vijaya Pāṇḍya's acknowledgment of the suzerainty of the Cālukyas is borne out by his two Chitaldroog inscriptions. In the first, dated in A. D. 1184, he is called "*Srimaj Jagadēkamalla-dēva-pādābja-bhṛṅga*," that is, follower of the Cālukya Jagadēkamalla III⁵, while in the other, dated the 19th September 1187, he is called "*Tribhuvanamalla-dēva-pādābja bhṛṅga*", or follower of the Cālukya Emperor Sōmēśvara IV Tribhuvanamalla.⁶ These titles in-

(1) *Ep. Car.* V, Cn, 209.

(3) *Ibid.*, 137, 175.

(5) *Ibid.*, XI, Cd, 13.

(2) *Ibid.*, V, Bl, 137.

(4) *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. XX,
Note, 2.

(6) *Ibid.*, 33

dicate clearly that Kāma-dēva Vijaya Pāṇḍya espoused the cause of Cālukya emperors as against that of Vīra-Ballāḷa.

This naturally led Ballāḷa to fight with Vijaya Pāṇḍya once again. An inscription from Bēlūr dated in A.D. 1197 informs us that king Vīra-Ballāḷa "moistening his valiant sword with the blood of his enemy the Pāṇḍya king, he whets it on the grindstone the head of Billama and sheathes it in the lotus mouth of Jaiṭugi." Again an inscription of 1220 found in Hoḷalkere Tālukā states that the Hoysaḷa king Vīra-Ballāḷa "thrashing the line of Pāṇḍya kings on the field of battle, terrifying and putting to flight hostile kings, by the might of his arm, ruled the celebrated Nōlamavādī.² We also learn from a verse in the *Jagannāthavijaya* (a *Campūkāvya* written in Kannada by Rudrabhaṭṭa in A. D. 1218-20), which applies the epithet *Ari-kāmadhvansī* to Vīra-Ballāḷa, that he "destroyed the enemy Kāma.³ It is thus apparent that Vijaya-Pāṇḍya was killed in the field of battle by Ballāḷa. This event must have happened after the 19th September, 1187 A. D., which is the latest known date of Kāma-dēva, and before the death of the Yādava King Bhīllama and the accession of his son Jaiṭugi in 1191-92 A. D. The above mentioned Bēlūr inscription says, though not very explicitly, that Vīra-Ballāḷa killed first the Pāṇḍya ruler, then Bhīllama, and then Jaiṭugi.

Thus ended the life of a great Uccaṅgi king who to his credit had enjoyed the status of an independent monarch, a status which was not enjoyed by any other prince of his dynasty.

Vijaya Pāṇḍya, though he failed in his foreign policy, was nevertheless remarkably successful in the internal administration of the kingdom. He had all the good of his subjects at heart, which is attested by the public works he undertook during his reign. It can be deduced from a

(1) *Ep. Car.* XX, V, Bl, 77.

(2) *Ibid.*, XI, Hk, 56.

(3) *Jagannāthavijaya*, 1, 3.

record of 1166 that he established many educational institutions in his kingdom.¹ The *agrahāra* called the *Vira-Pāṇḍya Caturvēdīmaṅgalam*, which he founded in memory of his elder brother, received his utmost attention.² Many records show that good stimulus was given to learning and religion. An inscription of 1168 tells us that he, on the application of his minister, made liberal grants for the decoration and illumination of the holy god Harihara.³ In addition to them, he is reported to have granted the entire village of Kūḍalūr to the hundred and four Brāhmaṇas, versed in the *Vēda* and *Vēdāṅga*, devoted to proper rites, skilled in all sciences, fixing the rent at only three hundred *maṣkas*, freed from all imports, and not subject to any trouble from kings or others, together with the *pīṇḍaṭṭāna*.⁴ This great gift was made with the noble purpose of serving food to the Brāhmaṇa teachers and for instruction in letters, discipline, grammar, *Mīmāṃsa Vēdānta*, commentaries, and recitation of both the *R̥g* and *Yajur Vēdas*. Another inscription from Jagaḷūr Tālukā states that he worshipped the feet of the *Kāḷāmukha* Tējōnidhi-paṇḍita-dēva's son Sarvēśvara-paṇḍita-dēva, and made many grants of land.⁵ We are told in another place that a minister, on the sanction of Vijaya Pāṇḍya, renewed in the presence of the *mahājānas* of Kuruvaṭṭi, the grant of 70 *maters* of land originally made to a temple.⁶ It can be deduced from a record of 1178 that there existed big commercial towns in the Pāṇḍya dominion and that trade flourished.⁷ We have it on record that the town of Guṇḍarādityana Hoḷalu, being the residence of five hundred rich merchants, was called the southern Ayyavaḷe.⁸ The fact that this place is styled merely a *grāmacakravartī* (the best of villages) would suggest that even villages were busy centres of trade.

(1) *Ep., Car.*, XI, JI, 8.(2) *Ibid.*(3) *Ibid.*, Dg. 39.(4) *Ibid.*, XI, Dg. 39.(5) *Ibid.*, XI, JI, 8.(6) *South Ind. Ep.*, 315 of 1918.(7) Rangaiaharya, *Inscriptions of Madras Presidency*, I, p. 280.(8) *Ibid.*

Vijaya Pāṇḍya had under him a number of minor feudatory chiefs who served him faithfully. Some of them are mentioned in inscriptions. The most important of them was the Kadamba king Kētarasa who is described as a dweller at the lotus feet of Vijaya Pāṇḍya. About him the inscription records as follows: "Be it well. Entitled to the five big drums, the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, boon lord of Banavāsipurā, having the monkey flag and the lion crest, having the sound of the *permaṭṭi* and *ṭārya*,.....born in the family of *Kadamba Cakri* Mayūravarma, lord of the Uccaṅgi hill, obtainer of a boon from the god Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa."¹

Kētarasa had a son Nāgāti-Nṛpāla by his wife Kana-kabbe-arasi "who was as moonlight to the *Caḥūra* bird and blue lotuses," her husband's mind and eyes.² To king Nāgāti, who seems to have succeeded his father in 1171, were born Kētarasa and Mācarasa.³ He had also a younger brother by name Hariyurasa.⁴ Nāgāti Nṛpāla is recorded to have made great gifts to the immemorial *agrahāra* of Kūḍalār, after "listening to the history of the early kings and stories of *Dharma*".⁵

An inscription from Dāvāṇagere refers to a Nāyaka family, ruling over the kingdom of Ōsāna and Kokkalūr under the Pāṇḍyas during the reign of Vijaya Pāṇḍya.⁶ The kingdom was then jointly governed by Banavayya Nāyaka and Hariyama Nāyaka.⁷ The record shows that these chiefs belonged to an important family of *mahāsāmantas*, having numerous epithets, including "destroyer of Toṇḍa, worshipper of the feet of the god Usānēśvara, obtainer of a boon from the god Vināyaka, glory of the Bāya-Kula."⁸

(1) *Ep. Car. Ibid.*, XI, Dg, 32.

(3) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.*

(7) *Ibid.*, XI, Dg, 115.

(2) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

(6) *Ibid.* 115.

(8) *Ibid.*

Another Nāyaka family of equal importance is mentioned in two inscriptions. This family was holding the hereditary governorship of the Kaḍuvagere Five-hundred and the Sagaluṅka Seventy provinces, with their capital at Benmaṭṭanūr (old name of Chitaldroog).¹ In 1184 we come across the two Nāyakas Irugayya and Udayāditya who were jointly administering the provinces in that year.² As the times of these Nāyakas were very troublous owing to the second invasion of Vira-Ballāḷa, they had to fight furiously with "tributory chiefs distinguished for their skill in war."³ We are told that these distinguished chiefs, who were the feudatories of Vira-Ballāḷa, were forming themselves into bands and coming against the Nāyakas.⁴ The manner in which the two Nāyakas fought the enemies is graphically described in the record. Irugayya "with great fury, sets forth, like a pestilence breaking out, like the cry of death, shouting like Bhairava, roaring like a lion, springing like a royal tiger".⁵

In A. D. 1187 *Mahāsāmantalālēśvara* Kāmeya Nāyaka, the son of Udayāditya, was ruling over his feudatory kingdom from Cimmacanūr (another name of Chitaldroog).⁶ He is described as an "ornament of the Pāṇḍya kingdom, a bee at the lotus feet of the god Hīḍimbēśvara, taking refuge at the two lotus feet of Vijaya Pāṇḍya".⁷ That Kāmayya Nāyaka survived his overlord is evidenced by an inscription of the former dated in A. D. 1199.⁸

Besides these feudatories, Vijaya-Pāṇḍya had under him a number of able generals and ministers. Foremost among his generals was Kumāra-Vijaya Himmāḍidaṇḍa-nātha who was also his chief minister. It is said that he received the title of *Kumāra* (or prince) from his master as a reward for his unbounded fidelity.⁹ He is also styled

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Cd. 13.(2) *Ibid.*(3) *Ibid.*(4) *Ibid.*(5) *Ibid.*, Cd. 13.(6) *Ibid.*, 33.(7) *Ibid.*(8) *Ibid.*, 36.(9) *Ibid.*, Dg. 32.

"The Hanumān beloved of the Pāṇḍya-race" (*Srīmat pāṇḍya janābhīrāmahanumān*), for playing upon the enemies' warriors the tricks of Māruti.¹ Besides being the great minister and general, he also discharged the functions of the *Śrīkarāṇa*, the general superintendent and the great master of the robes.² As the *Śrīkarāṇa*, he was "protecting all the subjects even more than if they were his own subjects."³ As regards his political wisdom, it is said that he was a skilful Cāṇakya in the use of spells or counsels for exercising the demon host the enemies.⁴ It appears that he took special care in finding out the traitors to his lord and punishing them severely. In his capacity as the general, he was "a Bhairava on the battle-field" and "a lion to the herd of elephants all the proud feudatories".⁵ His abilities were so remarkable that he is called the powerful right hand for the security of Vijaya-Pāṇḍya-Dēva's kingdom.⁶

Vijaya Pāṇḍya was undoubtedly a great warrior prince. The very fact that he splendidly ruled as an independent monarch for a decade shows that he was a personality to be reckoned with in his days. His rebellion against so powerful a monarch as Vira-Ballāḷa, which finally cost the Pāṇḍya his head, only proves that he remained a fearless soldier till the end of his life.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 39.(2) *Ibid.*(3) *Ibid.*, 32.(4) *Ibid.*(5) *Ibid.*(6) *Ibid.*

CHAPTER IX.

UDAYĀDITYA.

The death of Vijaya Pāṇḍya practically closes the history of the Uccāṅgi Pāṇḍyas. But the only inscription of the dynasty that was put after the death of Vijaya Pāṇḍya belongs to the reign of one Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya,¹ who is without doubt identical with the former's son, the famous Oḍeya or Udayāditya, the hero of the Ummadūr battle. As the record is dated the 24th January, 1194,² and is the latest of the inscriptions of the Uccāṅgi Pāṇḍyas, there is every reason to believe that Udayāditya Pāṇḍya did not live long after this date.

The above mentioned inscription of Udayāditya acknowledges the overlordship of the Cālukya king Sōmēśvara IV Tribhuvanamalla, who is here described as ruling from his capital at Jayantīpura (Banavāsi). It, therefore, follows that Udayāditya Pāṇḍya, in spite of his father's death at the hands of Ballāḷa, did not recognise the suzerainty of the Hoysalas. It must also be admitted that he was governing a small portion of territory, while the rest of Nōlambavāḍi was already in the possession of the Hoysalas. The fact that the major portion of the province had by this time formed a part of the Hoysala kingdom is born out by a number of inscrip-

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Cō, 36.

(2) As regards the date of this inscription, Dr. Venkatasubhaya remarks:—"The 17th January, 1200 A. C. is another possible equivalent of the Śaka date given in this inscription, and I have in fact given this equivalent in my article on the "Chronology of the W. Chalukyas of Kalyāṇi, (*Ind. Antiquary*, Vol. 48, p. 6). The study of the inscriptions of the Pāṇḍya rulers of Nōlambavāḍi now leads me, however, to prefer the 24th January 1194, A. C. as the equivalent of the given Śaka date," *I. H. Q.*, IV, p. 132.

tions. Thus a record from Muḍgere, dated in 1194, informs us that in that year Vīra-Ballāḷa, making his residence in northern Nōlambavāḍi, was ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom".¹ Again an inscription found in the Bellāry District and dated in 1194 plainly states that Bāgaḷi, situated in the very heart of Nōlambavāḍi, was a capital of Vīra-Ballāḷa.² The same statement is made by another record which gives a glowing description of Bāguḷi (Bāguḷi). All these epigraphic evidences clearly show that a large portion of the Pāṇḍya kingdom was conquered by the Hoysaḷas by 1194. It appears that Vīra-Ballāḷa had no rest unless and until the whole of Nōlambavāḍi was annexed to his kingdom. This obviously meant the continuation of war with Udayāditya Pāṇḍya.

It is, however, evident from an inscription that Vīra Ballāḷa succeeded in fulfilling his long cherished ambition. The record, after observing the various conquests of Ballāḷa, explicitly states that "the whole of the Pāṇḍya king's territory took refuge in forests",³ which must be understood to mean that the whole province was conquered. As the epigraph is dated in A. D. 1196, the event must have taken place at some time between 1194 and 1196. We shall not be far from truth if we place it in A. D. 1195.

We are informed by a verse in an inscription from Hoḷalkerc, dated in circa 1220, that "the Hoysaḷa king Vīra-Ballāḷa, thrashing the Pāṇḍya kings on the field of battle, terrifying and putting to flight hostile kings, by the might of his arm, ruled the celebrated Nōlambavāḍi".⁴ To judge from the language of the verse, it is very probable that Udayāditya, the last known king of the Uccaṅgi Pāṇḍyas, like his father, was killed by Vīra-Ballāḷa. This must have been in 1195

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Mg. 4.

(2) Rangacharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, I, pp. 296-97.

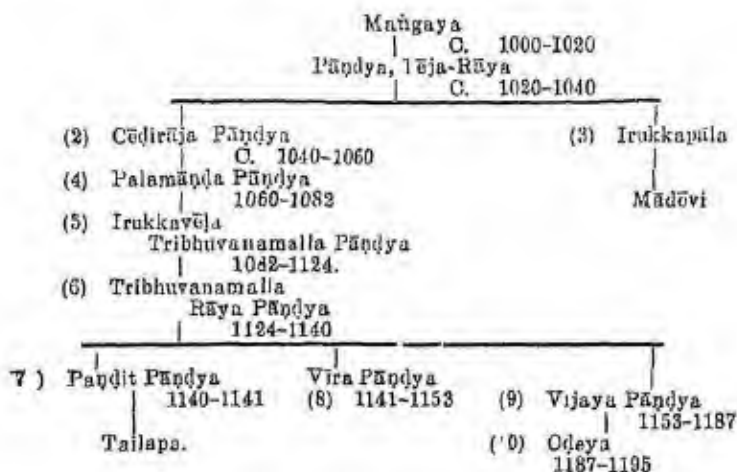
(3) *Ep. Car.*, V, Ak. 104.

(4) *Ibid.*, XI, Hk. 56.

when, as we have already seen, the whole of the Pāṇḍya kingdom was annexed by the Hoysala monarch. At any rate, it is plain that Udayāditya died after the 24th January, 1194 A. D. which is the last date for him as furnished by the inscription.¹

The death of Udayāditya closes the last chapter in the interesting history of the Uccāṅgi Pāṇḍyas. For more than a century, the Pāṇḍyas held undisputed sway over the historic province of Nōlambavāḍi. The defeat of Vijaya Pāṇḍya and his son Udayāditya and the acquisition of their territory by Vīra-Ballāḷa greatly enhanced the glory of the Hoysalas during the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

The Pāṇḍyas of Uccāṅgi.



Note :—Figure in the bracket denotes the number of the chapter.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Cd, 36.

PART VII.

MINOR PĀNDYA DYNASTIES OF KARNĀṬAKA.

CHAPTER I

THE SECOND BRANCH OF THE NĒLAMBAVĀDI PĀNDYAS.

We learn from an inscription found in Chitaldroog District that there was another branch of the Nōlamabādi Pāndyas different from the Uccaṅgi dynasty. As there is only one lithic record left by this branch while there are many relating to the Uccaṅgi Pāndyas, we cannot resist the conclusion that the former dynasty was not of much importance.

They seem to have held a small portion of the Nōlam-bavādi Province, which lay in the present Hoḷalkore Tāluka. The inscription¹ tells us that at the beginning of the rule of the Kālacūrya king Bijjala, Palaṭṭa Pāṇḍya, who was evidently the first king of the dynasty, was protecting with affection the Nōlam-bavādi Thirty-two thousand. In this connection, it is important to remember that Palaṭṭa or Palā-māṇḍa did not rule over the whole of Nōlam-bavādi but only over a small portion of it. It is a settled fact that Bijjala usurped the Cālukya throne in about A. D. 1155. We therefore, place the beginning of Palaṭṭa's rule in the same year.

On the death of Vira-Pāṇḍya of Uccaṅgi, which must have taken place in about 1153, the succession of the Pāṇḍya throne was disputed by Palaṭṭa, the half-brother of Vira-Pāṇḍya. But Kāma-dēva Vijaya Pāṇḍya, the direct brother of Vira-Pāṇḍya, ably supported by his experienced minister, proved too powerful an opponent to Palaṭṭa. The dispute ended in enabling Vijaya Pāṇḍya to occupy almost the

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Hk. 56.

whole of Nōlambavāḍi. But at the same time Palaṭṭa seems to have obtained a small portion of territory in the present Hoḷalkere Tālukā.¹ Vijaya Pāṇḍya, following in the footsteps of his predecessors, remained as the feudatory of the Cālukyas, while Palaṭṭa, his rival, naturally acknowledged the suzerainty of the Kālacūrya king Bijjala.

We are very unfortunate not to possess sufficient information about the history of this branch of the Pāṇḍyas. All that we know is that five kings ruled the territory in succession after Palaṭṭa, the founder of the dynasty. Phoṇḍi Pāṇḍya is said to have been a celebrated personage.² After him came Rāya Pāṇḍya whose successor was Noleya Pāṇḍya.³ Mr. Rice thinks that Phoṇḍi and Rāya were the son and the grand-son of Palaṭṭa respectively.⁴ But the wording of the inscription leads to no such inference. It is only stated that they ruled after Phoṇḍi Pāṇḍya. It is quite possible that they were his brothers.

Kāma-dēva was the son and successor of Noleya Pāṇḍya.⁵ After him the former's son, whose name is unfortunately worn out, is said to have come to the throne.⁶ He was, however, defeated and perhaps also killed by the Hoysala king Vīra-Ballāḷa in about A. D. 1215. The inscription, after mentioning Kāma-dēva's son, states that "thrashing the line of Pāṇḍya kings on the field of battle, terrifying and putting to flight hostile kings, by the might of his arm, the crest-jewel of righteous rulers, the Hoysala king Vīra-Ballāḷa, ruled the celebrated Nōlambavāḍi."⁷

It is thus apparent that the dynasty founded by Palaṭṭa in about A. D. 1155 came to an end only after a period of about sixty years.

(1) For details of this succession dispute, see *vide*, Chapter IX of Part VI.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Hk. 56.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) See the Family-tree given by Mr. Rice, *Ep. Car.*, VI, Intro. p. 18.

(5) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Hk. 56.

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) *Ibid.*

CHAPTER II.

THE PĀNDYAS OF HAYVE.

Besides the two Pāṇḍya dynasties of Nōlambavāḍi treated in previous chapters, there was a third branch that was ruling in Karnāṭaka in the eleventh century. As only one inscription relating to this branch of the *Pāṇḍyakula* is so far discovered, it is not possible for us to give a complete account of his dynasty in the present stage of historical research.

We learn from their inscription¹ that these Pāṇḍyas were the rulers of the Hayve Five-hundred country, one of the seven Koṅkaṇas. According to Kannaḍa records, the seven Koṅkaṇas are Kirāṭa, Virāṭa, Marāṭha, Koṅkaṇa, Haiga or Hayve, Tuḷuva and Kēraḷa.² Since early historical times, a considerable portion of the present North Kanara District formed a distinct territorial division known as Haiga or Hayve.

The capital of these Pāṇḍyas was Śīśugali, so called because of the courage (*Kalitana*) which distinguished the children (*śīśu*) born there.³ Though we are not able to identify this place at present, it may be presumed that Śīśugali was situated somewhere on the borders of the modern Mysore State and the North Kanara District. The kings of this family, however, claimed to be the lords of Gōkarṇapura and protectors of the Koṅkaṇarāṣṭra.⁴ This perhaps shows that the Pāṇḍyas of Hayve originally had their seat of government at Gōkarṇa, the famous place of pilgrimage, situated nine miles south of Aṅkōlā and ten miles north of Kumtā.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 99.

(2) *Kanara Gazetteer*, Part II, p. 75, n. 4.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 99.

(4) *Ibid.* VII, Sk. 99.

It is important to note that the members of this dynasty were counted among the first class feudatory chieftains under the Cālukyas. We learn from their inscription that they were entitled to the honour of being heralded in the public with the five great musical instruments, (*pañca-mahāśabda*) and were granted the title of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*.

The Hāyve branch like the other Pāṇḍyas belonged to the *Candrabāhira* or lunar race.¹ After many Pāṇḍya kings had ruled the district, there rose Candra who is the first king to be mentioned by name. That Candra was a good ruler is evidently indicated by the fact that he is said to have become famous by rejoicing the hearts of his subjects. We have no more information about this king except that his wife was Kamalādēvi, who was like the bright moon-light to that Candra (moon).²

As regards the chronology of Candra, it may be presumed that he lived in about A. D. 1060, thus giving a reign of about fifteen years to each of the three kings that reigned in succession prior to Kāmadēva II for whom we have a date in A. D. 1113.

Kāma I was the son and successor of Candra. Of him we have no information beyond the fact that his wife was Bhāgalādēvi, a clever Rājaputri of high qualities and beauty.³ The epithet *Rājaputri* clearly shows that she was the daughter of a certain king (*Rāja*).

Candra II, the son of Kāma I and Bhāgalādēvi, succeeded his father to the Hāyve throne. From the phraseology of the inscription, it would appear that Candra was a powerful king. He is said to have surpassed even Indra in the splendour of his wealth.⁴ Savale-dēvi, who came of a wealthy family, became the wife of this Candra.⁵

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 99.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.*

Kāmadēva II, the son of Candra II and Savaḷe-dēvi, was ruling the Hayve-nāḍ in A. D. 1113 as a subordinate of the Cālukya Emperor Vikramāditya VI.¹ He possessed the titles of "*Samadhigata pañcamahāśabda, Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, Gōkarna-puravarādhīśvara, gaṇḍaradāvaṇi, Koṅkaṇarāṣṭra-pāla, nigalanṅkamalla, and Pāṇḍyacūḍāmaṇi.*"²

The statement that Kāmadēva was "a joy to the learned"³ suggests that he patronised literature and learning. This inference is supported by the fact that the well-known Kannaḍa poet Mallikārjunabhaṭṭa was employed in his service.⁴ Judging from his style, Mallikārjuna was a poet of considerable merit. He is called a *Niṭilākṣa* (Īśvara) among fast or extempore poets (*āśu-kavi*)⁵, and was considered very clever in composing inscriptions.⁶ The inscription which he wrote is spoken of as a new model in the art of composing inscriptions. Another inscription of his is said to have become famous on account of its "approved sweet expressions."⁷ We are also told that if two persons from two sides should together come writing a poem down from the end and reading it out, he would arrange the poem to read out as a new poem.⁸ He possessed the title *Sarasvatī-mahōdaya* and was considered an outstanding literary figure of his time. But unfortunately, no work of his, excepting the two inscriptions, has come down to us.

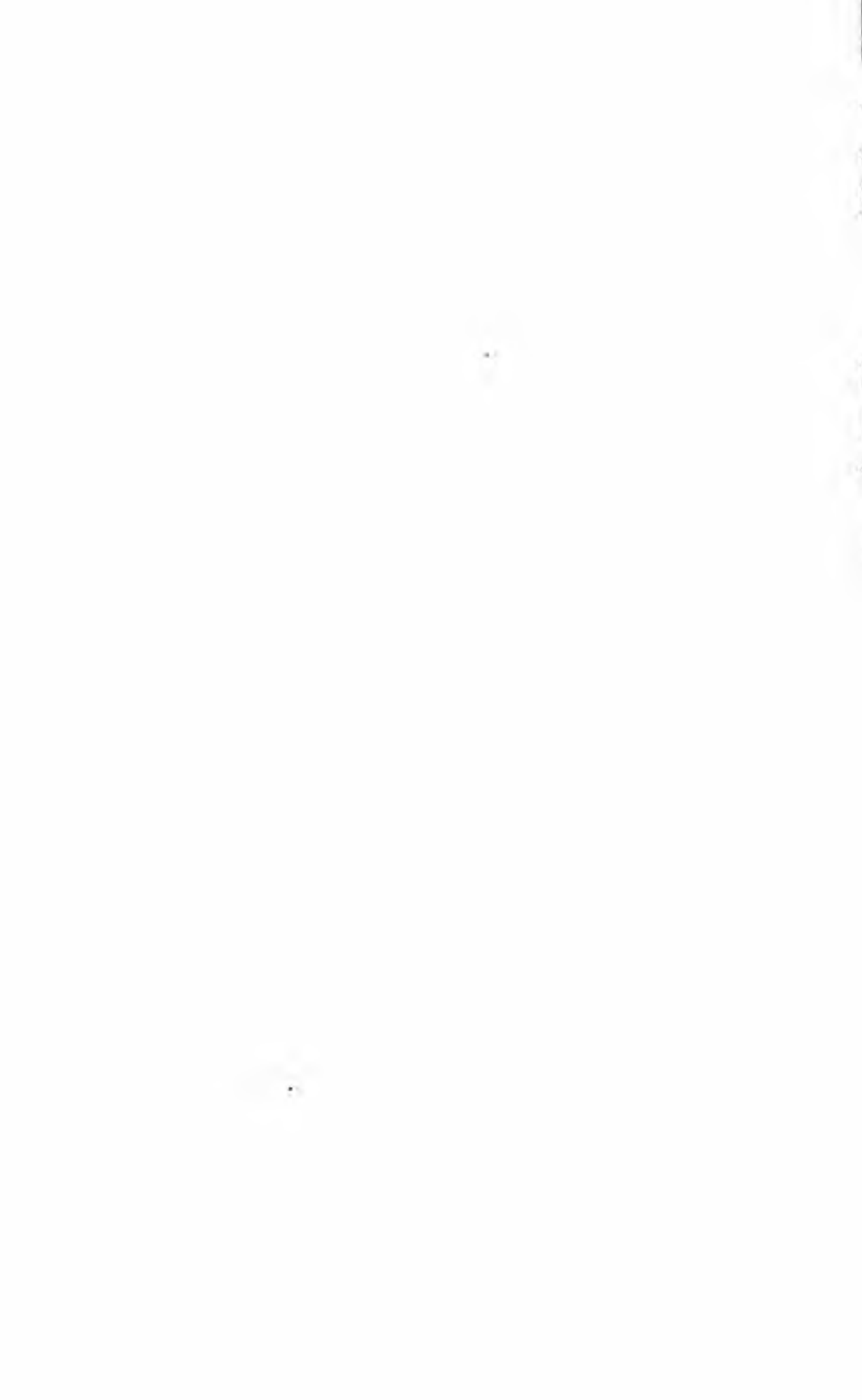
An inscription dated in 1125 states that in that year the Goa Kadamba king Jayakēśi II, as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI, was ruling over the Hayve Five-hundred Province in addition to other territories which are mentioned therein.⁹ It, therefore, appears that Jayakēśi had encroached over the Pāṇḍya territory and had annexed at least a portion of it to his growing kingdom.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 99.(2) *Ibid.*(3) *Ibid.*(4) *Ibid.*(5) *Ibid.* 98.(6) *Ibid.*, 99.(7) *Ibid.*(8) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 98.(9) *Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 568.

We have no information regarding the Hayve Pāṇdyas after Kāmadēva II. But a Sikārpur inscription, assigned to A. D. 1180, mentions a Pāṇḍya-Dēva as carrying off a dancing girl Udeyabbe and many cows by force from the town of Uddare.¹ It is probable that this Pāṇḍya-Dēva was a scion of the same Pāṇḍya branch of Hayve. The very fact that he was leading cattle-raids against his neighbours would suggest that Pāṇḍya-Dēva had considerable force at his command.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 300.

PART VIII.
THE GUTTAS OF GUTTAL.



CHAPTER I.

THE ORIGIN OF THE GUTTAS.

Of the *Mahāmāṇḍalāśvarīan* families under the Western Cālukyas, last in point of antiquity comes the family of the Guttas of Guttal. The Guttas for about two centuries, first as vassals of the Cālukyas, then under the Kālacūryas, and lastly under the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, had the government of the Guttavoḷal-nāḍ, which was a division of the Kuntala country and included the greater part of Karājgi and Rānēbennūr Tālukās of Dhārwar District and some of the neighbouring territory.

Guttal, the capital of the Guttas, is a large village about twelve miles east of Karājgi. It is called Guttavoḷal in inscriptions, a name which clearly suggests that the town was named after the Gutta dynasty. *Hoḷal* (*voḷal*) in Kannaḍa means a town, and hence Guttavoḷal evidently means the town of the Guttas.

Though the Guttas first come to our notice in the twelfth century, their inscriptions claim a far greater antiquity as regards the origin of the family. Thus the Cauḍaḍāmpūr or Cawaḍanpūr inscription, which is the earliest of the Gutta records, describes the members of the dynasty as "belonging to the lineage of Candragupta, the great supreme king of kings".¹ Another inscription from the same place describes them "as full-moons of the ocean of nēcter which is the lineage of Candragupta, the great supreme king of kings."² What is more, their descent is also deduced through a Vikramāditya, who is specified as king of Ujjayani, that is, Ujjain in Mālīvā, and whom one record appears to

(1) Fleet, *P. S. O. C. Inscriptions*, No. 108.

(2) *Ibid.*, No. 109.

represent plainly as himself a descendant of Candragupta.¹ One passage says that at Ujjain Vikramāditya mastered the *aṣṭa-mahā-siddhi* or eight great supernatural faculties,² while another that he ruled over the *Bēṭāḷas* or demons; and a third that he was the *Yuga-puruṣa* or representative man of the present age. Again the members of the family are described as *Vikramāditya-vaṁśśūdbhava*, "born in the race of Vikramāditya",³ and *Candragupta-vaṁśśūdbhava*, "born in the race of Chandragupta."⁴ What is more, Mallidēva, the third Gutta king, is styled *Gupta-Vaṁśa-Trinētra* "a very Trinētra (Śiva) in the Gupta race" and *Guptānvaya-bhūkānta*, "a king belonging to the Gupta lineage."⁵ In another record he is also described as *Gupta-vaṁśa-vārdhi-vardhana sudhākara*, "a moon in raising the ocean of the Gupta race."⁶

It follows from the above quotations that the family claimed descent from a certain Vikramāditya or Candragupta of Ujjain. As Mallidēva is plainly stated to have belonged to the Gupta lineage, it is clear that the Gutta princes believed that they were the descendants of the Guptas. It, therefore, appears that king Vikramāditya or Candragupta, from whom the Guttas claim descent, was a Gupta king. The statement in Gutta records that he himself was a descendant of Candragupta⁷ clearly shows that he was Candragupta II, the grandson of Candragupta I. It is well known to the student of ancient Indian History that Candragupta took the title of Vikramāditya ("son of power").

Dr. Fleet is of the opinion that king Vikramāditya, from whom the Guttas claimed descent, is the mythical king who is supposed to have established the Vikrama era, commencing from B. C. 58.⁸ The statement that Vikramāditya

(1) Fleet, *P. S. O. C. Inscriptions*, No. 109.

(2) *Ibid.* (3) *Ibid.* No. 108. (4) *Ibid.*, No. 230. (5) *Ibid.*

(6) Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 152; *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 123.

(7) Fleet, *P. S. O. C. Inscriptions*, No. 109.

(8) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 579.

was the king of Ujjain led the learned doctor to this supposition. But we think that it was none but Candragupta II whom the Gutta inscription describes as belonging to Ujjain. It was he who conquered Ujjain (Mālvā), Gujerāt and Kāthiāwār and annexed them to his empire. It seems that this wide conquest was considered a great achievement on the part of the Gupta king. Hence the Gutta inscription associates him with Ujjain, which was apparently the capital of the newly conquered provinces.

The members of the Gutta family had the hereditary title of *Ujjayani-puravarādhīśvara* or "supreme lord of Ujjayani, the best of towns",¹ which fact has a great historical significance in deciding the origin of the family. Students of ancient Karmāṭaka history know that these titles signify that the bearers of them belonged to the families that once held supreme power over the towns mentioned in the titles. *Ujjayani-puravarādhīśvara*, therefore, shows that the Guttas who bore the title belonged to the family that once possessed supreme sovereignty over Ujjain. Such a family was that of the Guptas, who, as we have already seen, had annexed Ujjain to their empire during the reign of Candragupta II. It must, however, be noted that in one passage there is instituted *pāṭali puravarādhīśvara* or "supreme lord of Pāṭalipura, the best of towns."² Pāṭalipura is the same as Pāṭaliputra, the capital of the Guptas.

It may be asked why the Guttas chose the city of Ujjain in preference to Pāṭaliputra, the capital of the Guptas, in order to commemorate their place of origin. It appears that when Candragupta II had completed his great military achievement by conquering Mālvā, Gujerāt and Kāthiāwār, the administration of these distant provinces was entrusted to a Viceroy who belonged to the Gupta stock. It may be further presumed that the

(1) Fleet, *P. S. O. O. Inscriptions*, No. 109.

(2) *Ibid.*, No. 108.

Guttas of Karnāṭaka derived their descent from this Viceroy whose capital seems to have been the famous town of Ujjain. Hence the title *Ujjayani-puravarādhīśvara* in their records. It is quite possible that a scion of Ujjain branch migrated to Karnāṭaka and became the originator of the Guttas. But when and why he came to the south we do not know.

Dr. Fleet observes that the mention of Pāṭalipura in one of the Gutta records "shows distinctly that the Guttas wrongly supposed themselves to be descended ultimately from the great Maurya king, Candragupta of Pāṭaliputra".¹ But the mention of the place Pāṭalipura, though it certainly involves some confusion, leads to no such inference. Pāṭaliputra was the capital not only of the Mauryas but also of the Guptas. In fact, the mention of Pāṭalipura only shows that the Guttas of Karnāṭaka had definite knowledge of the Early Guptas.

The inference that the Guttas originally belonged to Ujjain is further corroborated by the fact that their family God was Śiva under the name of Mahākāla of Ujjayani.² It may also be noted that they had the *Mṛga-rāja-lāncana* or crest of a lion,³ and the *Vaṭavṛkṣa-dhvaja* and *Garuḍa-dhvaja* or banners of a sacred fig-tree and of Garuḍa.⁴

The mention of their god Mahākāla clearly shows that the Guttas were worshippers of Śiva. But it is remarkable that they had the banner of Garuḍa, which indicates a tendency towards Vaiṣṇavism.

One of the Gutta records places "ten Guptas," after other kings who are not particularised in the lineage of Vikramāditya of Ujjayani.⁵ Extending the table given by Dr. Fleet in his *Gupta Inscriptions* (Introduction, p. 17) by the information given in the Bhitōri seal,⁶ we have

(1) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 579.

(2) Fleet, *P. S. O. C. Inscriptions*, Nos. 103, 230.

(3) *Ibid.* No. 108.

(4) Fleet, *o. c.*, No. 108.

(5) *Ibid.*, No. 230.

(6) *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 224.

the names of ten Early Guptas in unbroken lineal succession. Eight of them were reigning kings. If we include also the detached names of Budhagupta and Bhānugupta, we have ten reigning kings of the Early Gupta stock. This further shows that the Guttas had sufficient knowledge of the Early Guptas. Above all, the word Gutta which is a well established corruption (*laddhava*) of *Gupta* is another indication to show that the Guttas of Karnāṭaka had in reality some connection with the Imperial Gupta dynasty of North India.

CHAPTER II.

FOUNDATION OF THE DYNASTY.

With the accession of Vikramāditya VI to the Imperial throne of Kalyāṇa, commences the most glorious chapter in the history of the Western Cālukyas. During the long reign of fifty-one years, Vikramāditya maintained his vast kingdom free from foreign aggression. His policy of creating and encouraging the feudatory dynasties was a great success in strengthening the empire in all its directions. It was he who created a new *Mahāmāṇḍalīśvarīan* family in the Pāṇḍyas of Uccaṅgi, and with its active assistance completed the expulsion of the Cōḷas from Nōlambavādi. As a matter of fact, Vikramāditya was in need of loyal feudatories in the southern part of his empire to assist him against the powerful Cōḷas of the Tamiḷ country. The Gutta dynasty of Guttavōḷa was undoubtedly one of those families raised by Vikramāditya to the position of feudatory status.

The progenitors of the Guttas, as they descended from the stock of the ancient Guptas, must have been men of consequence even before they established themselves as the feudatories of the Cālukyas. The earliest of the Gutta chieftains is a certain Māgutta who appears to have been the founder of the dynasty.¹ The name Māgutta probably stands by metrical necessity for Mahā-gupta which was his real name. That Māgutta was the founder of the family is evident from the fact that the inscription, introducing the Guttas, commences the lineage from Māgutta.² It seems that Māgutta was a skilful warrior, who, by his military valour, must have won recognition at the hands of Vikramāditya. Those times were such that it was not possible for an ordinary soldier to be in-

(1) Fleet, *P. S. O. C. Inscriptions*, No. 108.

(2) *Ibid.*

vested with the powers of a feudatory chieftain unless he had proved himself worthy of the high position. This inference seems to be supported by the above mentioned inscription which says in somewhat exaggerated language that Māgutta was an "uncomparable wrestler" (*Apratimallam*).

Gutta I, the son and successor of Māgutta, was also a great warrior "who was like a rope for tying his enemies".¹ It is said that he won many victories against his enemies and obtained their territories.² These "enemies" were very likely the Hāngal Kadambas who were the western neighbours of the Guttas. It is quite possible that Gutta I encroached on the Hāngal territory, taking advantage of the Kadamba war of succession which was then waged between Śāntivarma II and his nephew Kīrtivarma.³ The record proceeds to say that Gutta obtained much fame throughout the kingdom on account of his military achievements. It styles him *Guttānwaya-vaṇḍisāgrorū* and *Guttānwaya-tīlakam*, which clearly shows that he enjoyed greater power than was exercised by his father. The record by way of illustrating his attractive personality compares him to Anaṅga, the God of Love.⁴

As regards the chronology of Gutta I, it may be presumed that he lived in the last quarter of the eleventh century. For we know from other sources that his son and successor Mullidēva was a reigning king in the first quarter of the twelfth century.

The description of Gutta I as a great warrior-chieftain would also suggest that he was one of those connected with the final driving away of the Cōlas from Nōlam̐avāḍi which took place in his time. It, however, stands to his credit that he established the foundations of the Gutta family on a firm basis.

(1) Fleet, *P. S. O. C. Inscriptions*, No. 108.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) For details of this dispute, see Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, p. 108.

(4) Fleet, *P. S. O. C. Inscriptions*, No. 108.

CHAPTER III.

MALLIDĒVA.

Mallidēva, also known as Malla, was the son and successor of Gutta I.¹ The only record of his reign that has come down to us is an inscription at Chaudāḍāmpur.² We have already explained in the last chapter how Gutta I strengthened his position by his military achievements. Mallidēva closely adhered to his father's policy. The result was that before the end of his reign he became the acknowledged master of the Guttavoḥḷ-nāḍ.

An inscription of one of his successors describes Mallidēva as *Gupta-vaṁśa-Trinētra* or "a Trinētra (Śiva) in the Gupta race" and *Guptānṣayabhūkānta*, "a king belonging to the Gupta lineage"³. The first epithet is a clear indication that Mallidēva was considered a successful ruler by his successors. One who reads his inscriptions feels that he was a powerful chieftain, with a considerable force at his command. The record opens by referring itself to the reign of the Western Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI who was Mallidēva's overlord.⁴

Mallidēva seems to have come to the throne in about A. D. 1110. Though the inscription does not contain any date, it is certain that he was reigning in the first quarter of the twelfth century. The record mentions the *Mahāsa-*

(1) Fleet, *P. S. O. C. Inscriptions*, No. 108.

(2) *Ibid.* Chaudāḍāmpur is a village on the left bank of the Tuṅga-bhadra about fifteen miles north of Rāṅgebenūr. It has temples of Mukteśvara, Išvara and Goḍesvāmī and eight inscriptions. Mukteśvara's is a black stone temple less graceful than the Deḍḍabasappa temple at Dambal, but a fine bold building of the same age and style (1000-1100) with its detail more completely finished than in the Dambal temple.

(3) Fleet, *o. c.*, No. 230.

(4) Fleet, *P. S. O. C. Inscriptions*, No. 108.

manādhipati, *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* and *Mahāpradhāna* Gōvindarasa, who was the viceroy of the Banavāse province during Mallidēva's reign. And we know from other sources¹ that Gōvindarasa was in charge of Banavāse from A. D. 1100 to A. D. 1117. At any rate, it is plain that Mallidēva was a ruling chieftain during this period. The fact that the Cauḍaḍāmpur inscription above referred to introduces Mallidēva after Gōvindrasa evidently shows that Gōvindarasa was in charge of the whole of the Banavāse province in which was included the Guttavoḷal-nāḍ. It is important to remember that the inscription does not specify the locality of Mallidēva's government; but it seems to imply that he was administering only the Guttavoḷal district.

Mallidēva, inspite of his many sided abilities, was not raised to the status of a first class feudatory power. His record gives him the title of *Mahāsāmanta* and not *Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara*. There is, therefore, every reason to believe that Gōvindarasa, to whom he was directly responsible, was exercising greater control over the Gutta chief than was exercised by the powerful viceroys over the various *Mahāmāṇḍalēśvarian* dynasties.

Mallidēva had a very trying time on account of the aggressive policy pursued by the great Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana. On the conclusion of the Dummē war in 1116,² in which the Pāṇḍyas of Uccaṅgi suffered a defeat, Viṣṇuvardhana directed all his attention towards the north-west, that is, towards the territories of the Kadambas of Hāṅgal. As Guttavoḷal-nāḍ was situated between the Pāṇḍya and Kadamba kingdoms, it is apparent that Mallidēva had to put up a very stout resistance in order to save his own kingdom.

Viṣṇuvardhana, however, continued to lead military expeditions till A. D. 1130, when he attacked Hāṅgal itself with the intention of annexing the Kadamba kingdom.³ A *Viragal*

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 106, 137 and 386.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, VI, Cm. 99.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, V, Bl. 102.

of 1138 remarks that Viragaṅga Hoysaḷa Dēva set out on an expedition to conquest, and crossing over the Tuṅgabhadra, marched to Banavāsi-nāḍ, and in Dhanurmāsa of the Śaka year 1060, the year Kālayukta, laid siege to Banavāsi and the fort of Hāṅgal.¹ In spite of the strenuous efforts of the brave Kadamba monarch Mallikārjuna, the expedition resulted in a great success for the Hoysaḷas. Viṣṇuvardhana's success was so complete that he made Baṅkāpura a royal camp (*Rājadhāni*).² The establishment of the Hoysaḷa capital at Baṅkāpura must have enhanced the fears of Mallidēva the Gutta king. Baṅkāpura, being situated only a few miles north-east of Guttavoḷal, there was every probability of the Guttas being attacked at any time by the Hoysaḷas. But the conspicuous absence of Guttavoḷal-nāḍ from the list of the provinces conquered by Viṣṇuvardhana would have us believe that Mallidēva successfully defended his kingdom. This was in reality a great achievement on the part of the Gutta king inasmuch as the neighbouring provinces of Guttavoḷal-nāḍ, namely, the Banavāse and the Hānagal were annexed by Viṣṇuvardhana to his kingdom.

The fact that Mallidēva was a powerful chieftain so as to check the tide of the Hoysaḷa invasion is borne out by his inscription which contains long passages describing his military efficiency and achievements.

The record says that he was like a "sun dispersing darkness which was the army of his enemies", and "a very *Kāladanḍa* to his foes".³ What is more, it is explicitly stated in one place that Mallidēva defeated many foes and won victories, thus displaying the valour of his arms.

The long description in the record of a sacred site called Muktaśrītha on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra and the whole atmosphere of the inscription seems to imply that Mallidēva

(1) *Ep. Car.*, V, Cn. 912.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, V. Ak, 18; XII, Gb, 13; V. Cn. 199.

(3) *Fleet, P. S. O. C. Inscriptions*, No. 103.

was a devout Śaivite and a liberal patron of Śaivism. As regards his personal accomplishments, we are told that he was delighted in all the fine arts.¹ He was a "*Cintāmani*" to his servants and a king of liberal disposition to his subjects.²

The holy place Muktaśrītha spoken of in the inscription seems to be the same as the residence of the God Mukteśvara at Cauḍaḍāmpur on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra. This temple was perhaps erected by Mallidēva himself. As the record comes abruptly to an end in the middle of a sentence, we do not get any details about the grant which the king appears to have made to the temple. The inscription while describing the greatness of Muktaśrītha says that the river Tuṅgabhadra is as holy as the Ganges and hence is called the Dakṣiṇa-Gaṅgā, the southern Ganges.

The record after describing Muktaśrītha gives an account of some chiefs of the Jaṭa-Cōḷa lineage. The name of the earliest king of this family mentioned in the epigraph is worn out. His son and successor was Dāna who is said to have become famous on account of his valour. To Dāna and to his queen Caṇḍabbarasī was born Attiṇṇpāla who had always at heart the welfare of others. He had a younger brother by name Caṇḍa who appears to have been a great soldier. The record, by way of illustrating his valour, compares him to Rāma who killed the Laṅkāśvara and to Bhagīratha who brought Suranadi to the earth. Attiṇṇpāla was apparently holding a small territory on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra as a subordinate of Mallidēva.

It is clear from what has been said that Mallidēva was a successful ruler. Consequently, is it not strange if we find that his record pays a rich tribute to his kingly qualities. A Kadamba record informs us that Mallidēva's wife was Padumalādevī who lived many years after her husband's death. Mallidēva appears to have died in about 1140 when he was succeeded by his son Vīra-Vikramāditya I.

(1) Fleet, *P. S. O. C. Inscriptions*, No. 108.

(2) *Ibid.*

CHAPTER IV.

VĪRA-VIKRAMĀDITYA I.

Vīra-Vikramāditya was the son and successor of Mallidēva.¹ As there is not a single inscription of this king, we do not know much about him. Vīra-Vikramāditya was also called Vikrama or Vikramāṅka.²

It was perhaps in this reign that the Guttavolal-nāḍ was extended in its southern borders, and a portion of the Banavāse province came to be included in it. We are told in Haraḷahaḷḷi inscription of Vikramāṅka's grandson that he (Vikramāṅka) "became illustrious in being called the lord of the Banavāse Province".³ With the death of Viṣṇuvardhana in about A.D. 1141, the war-like spirit of the Hoysaḷas suffered a check for want of capable military leaders. Nara-siṃha, the son and successor of Viṣṇuvardhana, was a mere child of eight years⁴ at the death of his father, and throughout his life he remained a weak ruler. By this time the wars of Viṣṇuvardhana had also weakened the power of the Hāṅgal Kadambas, the close neighbours of the Guttas. Taking advantage of this favourable political situation, Vīra-Vikramāditya appears to have encroached on the Banavāse Province.

This period also witnessed the steady decline of the Cālukya supremacy. Bijjaḷa of the Kālacūrya family who was raised to the dual position of governor and minister of the Cālukyas, misused his enormous powers and usurped the imperial throne.⁵ Bijjaḷa embarked on an ambitious policy of subduing the various feudatory families of Karnāṭaka. Consequently the Kadambas of Hāṅgal, the Silāhāras of Karād, the Raṭṭas of Saundatti and even the Sindas of Bel-

(1) Fleet, *P. S. O. C. Inscriptions*, No. 230.

(2) *Ibid.*, No. 234.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ep. Car.*, V, Bl. 93.

(5) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 465.

gutti, who held territories to the south of the Tuṅgabhadra, were forced to acknowledge Bijjala's suzerainty.¹ But we do not know definitely whether the Guttas under Vira-Vikramāditya also met with the same fate. It is, however, plain from an inscription at Haralahalli that Jōyidēva I, the son and successor of Vira-Vikramāditya, was a feudatory of the Kālacūryas.² The fact that Bijjala's dominions included the southern province of Banavāse³ and that the Sindas of Belgutti and the Kadambas of Hāṅgal, the two neighbouring *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvarīan* families of the Guttas, were made to acknowledge the overlordship of the Kālacūryas, would have us believe that the Gutta king Vikramāditya likewise became a subordinate of Bijjala.

A Kadamba record of 1177 informs us that one Mallidēva's queen Padumalādēvi, having become hostile to Sōyidēva, the Kadamba chief of Nāgarakhaṇḍa branch, plundered Kuppattūr and raiding the fields carried away the cows.* This Mallidēva must be identified with the Gutta king Mallidēva (the father of Vikrama) who became the contemporary of Sōyidēva at the end of the former's reign. Mallidēva's queen was very likely ruling conjunctly with her son Vira-Vikramāditya and was administering the southern part of the Gutta kingdom.

The real name of this Gutta chief was Vikrama or Vikramāṅka as we have already seen.⁵ The epithet *Vira* (hero) accorded to him only shows that he was a brave king, who to his credit, extended the southern borders of his kingdom, and thus proved himself worthy of the title.

Vikrama's reign seems to have extended for a period of more than thirty years after which he was succeeded by his elder son Jōyidēva.

(1) Fleet Kanarese, Dynasties, pp. 475-476.

(2) Fleet, P. S. O. C. Inscriptions, No. 230.

(3) Ep. Car., VII, Sk. 78, 139, 161, 146, 56, 102, 242, 108; VIII, Sb. 197, 449, 287, 362, 6. (4) Ep. Car., VIII, Sb. 412.

(5) Fleet, P. S. O. C. Inscriptions, No. 234.

CHAPTER V.

JŌYIDĒVA.

Jōyidēva, who was also known as Jōma or Jomma, was the eldest son of king Vīra-Vikramāditya I. We have two records of the time of this ruler; one is a stone inscription from Belgāmve in Mysore which gives a date corresponding to A. D. 1179.¹ The other is an inscription at Haraluhalli in Karajgi Tālukā from which we get the date of the winter solstice in December, A. D. 1181.²

It has already been noted that Vīra-Vikramāditya I had transferred his allegiance to the Kālacūrya kings. The above mentioned inscriptions of Jōyidēva further prove that the Guttas, during the reign of Jōyidēva, were the acknowledged feudatories of the Kālacūryas. Both the records refer to the Kālacūrya kings Saṅkama and Āhavamalla as the overlords of Jōyidēva.

The Belgāmve inscription of Jōyidēva mentions him as one of the granters of the great gifts made to the gods Kēśava (Viṣṇu) and Sōmanātha (Śiva). Jōyidēva is here styled *Gupta-vamśa-vārdhi-varḍhanasudhākara* or "a moon in raising the ocean of the Gupta race." He is also described as a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, worshipper of the lotus-feet of the God Gaḷagēśvara, subduer of foreign armies. Among other persons who made the gifts was the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 123. Dr. Fleet remarks that this inscription belongs to a certain Sampakarasa of the Gutta dynasty and further tells us that he cannot be referred to his place in the Gutta genealogy. But Mr. Rice in the *Epigraphia Carnatica* has deciphered the name as "Jōyidēva", which seems to be the correct one.

(2) Fleet, *P. S. O. C. Inscriptions*, No. 230.

Boppa-dēva of the Nāgarakhaṇḍa branch of the famous Kadambakula. We are told that grants were also made by all the chief farmers of the Nāgarakhaṇḍa Seventy. The granting of taxes by Jōyidēva in the Nāgarakhaṇḍa Province clearly implies that he possessed at least some territory in that district. The fact that he is described as a "moon in raising the ocean of the Gupta race" would suggest that he was considered as one of the distinguished rulers of his dynasty.

It is important to remember that the Kadamba king Boppa-dēva who made gifts along with Jōyidēva was soon after forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Hoysaḷas. It is clear from one of his records of about 1182 that during his reign the Kadambas of Nāgarakhaṇḍa transferred their allegiance to the Hoysaḷas.¹ This fact is of great significance in the history of Jōyidēva. Jōyidēva, who was also a feudatory of the Kālacūryas, could not have been conquered by the Hoysaḷa king, in spite of the fact that Vira-Ballāḷa II had then completely overthrown the Kālacūrya supremacy to the south of the Tuṅgabhadra.

The cult of Harihara seems to have received much impetus during this reign in the Banavāse and the adjacent provinces. It is noteworthy that a Śaiva monarch like Jōyidēva made liberal grants to the Vaiṣṇava temple of the god Kēśava. What is really interesting is that grants were made both to the Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava deities at one and the same time. This fact clearly shows that the Harihara cult found favour even in the royal families of the day.

The Belgāmve inscription mentions the name of Vāsu-dēva Nāyaka who was the minister of Jōyidēva.²

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, 8k, 197.

(2) *Ibid.*, 123.

CHAPTER VI.

VĪRA-VIKRAMĀDITYA II.

Vīra-vikramāditya II, the illustrious son of Gutta II by Padmalādēvi and the nephew of Jōyidēva I, ascended the throne in December A.D. 1181.¹ It is thus evident that Gutta II, the younger brother of Jōyidēva, predeceased his brother. As Jōyidēva had no issues, Vikramāditya's accession was entirely undisputed. His records show that the power of the Guttas reached the acme of its greatness during the reign of this monarch. One of his early records speaks of him as a feudatory of the Kālacūrya king Āhavamalla². But the later records show that Vīra-Vikramāditya successfully aimed at a higher status and declared independence.

Of Vikramāditya we have six records. One is an inscription at Hulihālī³. It refers to the reign of the Kālacūrya King Āhavamalla. His feudatory, it says, was the *Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara* Vikramāditya II. In respect of his descent, it only tells us that he was the son of Jōyidēva I, who was the son of Vikramāṅka, that is, Vīra-Vikramāditya I. As this is the only inscription which informs us that Vikramāditya II was the son of Jōyidēva himself and not the son of Gutta I, it seems that Vikramāditya was perhaps the adopted son of Jōyidēva. This record is the most important of all in as much as it speaks of the Banavāse Twelve-thousand Province as his *nijaiśvarya* or "own proper lordship," which clearly implies that it was mainly due to the military achievement of Vikrama himself that the Banavāse Province was added to the Gutta kingdom. It must, however, be remembered that the whole of the Banavāse Province

(1) *South Ind. Ep.*, 215 of 1918.

(2) *Carn. Desa. Inscriptions*, II, p. 252, Referred to by Dr. Fleet *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 582.

(3) *Ibid.*

was not included in the Gutta kingdom. Only a considerable part of it was under the rule of Vikrama. Another record from the Bellary District, dated December 25, 1181, also informs us that the Gutta king Vikrama was ruling over a part of that District.¹ Vikrama is here called "Lord of Ujjain." It is thus apparent that Vikramāditya extended the boundaries of his ancestral kingdom beyond Guttavolal, and held territories both to the north and to the south of the Tuṅgabhadra.

How was Vikramāditya able to achieve this wonderful feat in the course of a couple of years? When Vikramāditya came to the throne, the Yādavas and the Kālacūryas were disputing for the possession of the southern provinces. Taking advantage of this political confusion, Vikramāditya seems to have embarked on a forward policy of extending the boundaries of his own kingdom. The disappearance of the Kālacūrya power from the history of Karnāṭaka, which took place in or about A. D. 1183, was another blessing to the Guttas. With the fall of the Kālacūryas, who were the overlords of the Guttas, the latter dynasty automatically became independent. The disappearance of the Kālacūryas also gave an opportunity to the Cālukya partisans to come forward and publicly expound their cause. We are told in a Hoysala record that the Kālacūrya *Danḍanāyaka* Bamma joined the Cālukyas and succeeded in seducing a considerable part of the Kālacūrya forces which were under the command of his own brother². This fact is further supported by a Cālukya inscription which admits that Bamma secured for Sōmēśvara the position of Emperor³.

We have seen elsewhere that many *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvarīan* families which were loyal to the Western Chālukyas were only too glad to transfer their allegiance to Sōmēśvara IV. For example, the Kadambas of Hāṅgal under Kāma-dēva

(1) *South Ind. Ep.*, 215 of 1918

(2) *Ind. Ant.* II, p. 299.

(3) *Carn. Des. Inscriptions*, II, p. 37, referred to by Dr. Fleet, *Kannarese Dynasties*, p. 464.

became the subordinates of their old master.¹ But the ambitious Gutta king Vīra-Vikramāditya II aimed at a higher status, and hence seems to have determined to continue as an independent king.

The contest for supremacy between the Yādavas and the Hoysaḷas, which was going on for all these years, was at last decided in favour of the Hoysaḷas. The decisive victory of the latter over the Yādava king Bhīllama in the battle of Lukkunḍi seems to have determined, at least temporarily that the Hoysaḷas should be supreme in the southern provinces of the Dekkan. Therefore, Vīra-Ballāḷa turned to subdue the Kadambas of Hāṅgul, thus leaving the Gutta king undisturbed.

We said above that Vikramāditya automatically become independent with the disappearance of the Kālacūrya overlordship. This fact is supported by Gutta inscriptions. The epigraph at Haraḷahallī tells us that Vīra-Vikramāditya II was ruling the Banavāse Province at his capital Gutta-voḷal, with a certain Bāsīrāja as his Mahāpradhāna². The record is dated in A. D. 1188 and thus can be referred to the time of the Cālukya king Somaśvara IV. But what is significant, it does not mention any paramount sovereign. Similarly, another Gutta inscription at Caudāḍāmpur, dated in A. D. 1191, does not mention any paramount power³. It is thus apparent that Vīra-Vikramāditya was an independent king, pending the issue of the contest between the Yādavas of Dēvagiri and the Hoysaḷas for the southern provinces. The fact that Vīra-Vikramāditya maintained his independence till the end of his reign is borne out by the Haraḷahallī epigraph dated in A. D. 1213, which again does not mention any paramount sovereign.

It may be gathered from this Haraḷahallī inscription that Vīra-Vikramāditya ruled over a considerable part of the

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 179.

(2) *Fleet P. S. O. C. Inscriptions*, No. 231.

(3) *ibid.*, No. 109.

Banavāse Province in the later half of his reign. It is explicitly stated that he was ruling the Banavāse Twelve-thousand from his capital at Guttavolal. It is true that the earlier records also make the same statement. Nevertheless, there is every reason to believe that Vīra-Vikramāditya grew more and more powerful as the years passed on. The Kadambas of Hāṅgal who were the hereditary lords of Banavāse had suffered considerable damage at this period, for the constant struggle with the Hoysaḷas had obviously a deleterious effect upon the Hāṅgal kingdom. Moreover, Vīra-Ballāḷa was also now much advanced in age and had lost the juvenile vigour that had always attended his early career. It is, therefore, no wonder if Vīra-Vikramāditya, who held the territory between the Kadambas and the Hoysaḷas, encroached on the Banavāse Province.

Vikramāditya, in pursuing his forward policy, appears to have come into hostile contact with the neighbouring powers. That he was a good warrior is evidenced by the title *Āhavāditya* (a sun on the battle-field) accorded to his name. It is important to remember that this title is used only in the later records, a fact which would suggest that it was not a poetic appellation based on imagination, but a real *biruda* given to him in recognition of his military success on a particular occasion.

We have seen above that Vikramāditya reigned as an independent monarch throughout his reign, excepting the first few years when he was the subordinate of the Kāla-cūrya King Āhavamalla. But this change in political status was not followed by any change in royal titles. The feudal expression *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* is applied to him even after he became independent. The assumption of this title is, however, not inconsistent with the higher status which he enjoyed. For it was often the practice in ancient Karnāṭaka to retain the old royal titles, despite the fact that they no longer indicated the real political status of a king. It may be noted in this connection that

the title of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* is prefixed to the name of the Hoysaḷa king Vīra-Ballāḷa II in some inscriptions even as late as in 1192 A. D.¹

Vīra-Vikramāditya, it is obvious from what we have said above, was a successful ruler. As a matter of fact, he is by far the greatest Gutta king. What is more, he is the only king of the dynasty to rule as an independent monarch without any overlord. Reading his inscriptions, one feels that he should have been an active prince blessed with indomitable energy. His encroachments on other's territories show that he was not only ambitious to make a name for himself but also to make the most of the weakness of his neighbours. His personal encouragement to Śaivism by the construction of beautiful edifices proves that, despite the disturbed political conditions of his times, he maintained peace and order in his kingdom. Thus we are told in one of his records that he built a temple of Śiva at Haraḷahallī and made liberal grants to it in A. D. 1213². It may be that one of the Śiva temples, which we see to-day at Haraḷahallī, is the same which Vīra-Vikramāditya caused to be erected.

We know that Vikramāditya married Paṭṭamādēvi, who bore him his daughter Tuḷuvalādēvi and his sons Jōyidēva and Vikrama³. Tuḷuvalādēvi is recorded to have been married to a certain Ballāḷa, son of a prince named Sīrṇha, Sīṅgī, or Sīṅgidēva, of the Sūryavamśa or Solar Race, lord of the Sāntaḷi Maṇḍala⁴. Sāntaḷi Maṇḍala seems to be the same as Sāntaḷge, the hereditary province of the Sāntāra chieftains. It is, therefore, evident that Tuḷuvalādēvi was given in marriage to a Sāntāra prince. Vīra-Vikramāditya appears to have died in about 1225, when he was succeeded by his son Jōyidēva II.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, III Ng, 71. Pn. 31.

(2) *Fleet, P. S. O. C. Inscriptions*, No. 234.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

CHAPTER VII.

JÖYIDĒVA II.

Jōyidēva, also known as Jōvidēva, was the son of Vira-Vikramāditya II.¹ He ascended the throne in about 1225 on the death of his father. By the time Jōyidēva came to the throne, Vira-Ballāḷa II having died, the Yādavas were growing powerful in the Karnāṭaka. The successors of Ballāḷa were not as successful as their illustrious predecessors. The Yādavas on the other hand, flourished at this time under the rule of a capable monarch who increased their power to a very large extent. This king was Siṅghaṇa, the son of Jaitugi. He had already made the Hoysaḷas taste the bitter fruits of defeat in the reign of Vira-Ballāḷa. The Gadag inscription of 1213² and the Paithan grant,³ which speak of him as overthrowing Ballāḷa, make it abundantly clear that Siṅghaṇa succeeded in recovering from Vira-Ballāḷa all the territory that lay south of the Malprabhā and the Kṛṣṇā. His efforts were crowned with still greater success after the death of Vira-Ballāḷa.

This was the state of affairs when Jōyidēva succeeded to the throne of Guttavolal. Siṅghaṇa took advantage of Ballāḷa's death to extend the southern borders of his growing kingdom. Guttavolal which lay between the Yādava and the Hoysaḷa kingdoms was the proper territory to have a stronghold there from which Siṅghaṇa could start his expeditions to the south against the Hoysaḷas. It would, therefore, seem that Guttavolal was in need of a powerful ruler in order to maintain its independence intact. Jōyidēva had to put up a very stout resistance. But Siṅghaṇa proved himself too powerful a king for the Gutta ruler. It was perhaps

1 Fleet, *P. S. O. C. Inscriptions*, No. 234.

2 Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 524.

3 *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 314.

due to this that Jōyidēva is described in one place as a forehead ornament of the Gutta family. In about 1135, Jōyidēva seems to have suffered an irretrievable defeat at the hands of the Yādavas.

The Haraḥaḥaḥi copper-plate grant of 1238 mentions Jōyidēva as a feudatory of the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa¹. It is thus apparent that the Guttas lost their independence a few years before 1238. The same inscription tells us that Vicāṇa, the Viceroy of Siṅghaṇa II, of the southern part of his kingdom had subdued the Raṭṭas of Saundatti and Belgaum, the Pāṇḍyas "who shone at Gutti, the "turbulent" Hoysalas, and the Kadambas "who were glorious in the Koṅkanas", and other kings. What is more, he is reported to have set up his pillar of victory in the neighbourhood of the river Kāvēri. The inscription then describes the rivers Varahi and Tuṅgabhadra, and says that Vicāṇa had come to the banks of the former in order to free himself from his debt to the *manes* of his parents. The epigraph then proceeds to record that with the consent of the village-headman Rāma-gauḍa and of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Jōyidēva, Cikkadēva, a *Danḍēśa* of Siṅghaṇa, presented to some Brāhmanas certain lands at the village of Raṭṭigrāma. Raṭṭigrāma is the modern Haḷē-Raṭṭi which is only six miles to the east of Karajgi and which was then included in the Gutta domain. This would only suggest that the *Danḍēśa* was the Yādava officer appointed to look after the Guttavajal-nād.

Jōyidēva continued to rule as a feudatory of the Yādavas till the end of his reign which appears to have come to a close in about 1250.

(1) Fleet, *A Copper-plate grant of the Devagiri Yādava King Siṅghaṇa*, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XV, p. 384.

CHAPTER VIII.

VIKRAMĀDITYA III.

Jōyidēva II, having no issues, his younger brother Vikramāditya III ascended the throne of Guttavoḷuḷ on his brother's death. He was also known as Vikramāṅka. This event seems to have happened in about 1250 when Kṛṣṇa was the king of Dēvagiri. Vikramāditya ruled for a short period of about ten years, and his reign was on the whole uneventful. As we have no records of this king, we do not know whether he continued to rule as a feudatory of the Yādavas like his elder brother. But the fact that his son and successor Gutta III was a subordinate of the Yādavas may lead us to infer that Vikramāṅka too was a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* under Kṛṣṇa.

The reign of Vikramāṅka, being undisturbed by wars, was a peaceful and prosperous one. Trade should have flourished and the fine arts encouraged. It is expressly stated in one place that Vikramāṅka was a liberal patron of literature and made gifts to poets.¹ He also seems to have been very active in helping the religions to flourish. As regards his character, he is described as an abode of *dharma*, truth, and purity of conduct.²

We have no more information about this king excepting that his wife was Mañjalādēvi, the mother of Gutta III.³

(1) Fleet, P. S. O. C. Inscriptions, No. 111. (2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

CHAPTER IX.

GUTTA III.

Gutta III succeeded his father Vikramāditya as the king of Guttavolal-nāḍ. He probably came to the throne in A. D. 1260. We have three lithic records of this king. Two of them¹ mention first the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Āhavamallāditya Vira-vikramāditya III, or as one of them calls him, Vira-Vikrama. This person married Mailajādevī. And their son was Gutta III.

Gutta, in his records, is described as ruling at his capital of Guttavolal. But the inscriptions do not define the extent of his kingdom. All the three inscriptions show that Gutta was a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* under the Dēvagiri Yādava king Mahādēva, who ruled from 1260 to 1271. Mahādēva is styled in these records *Yadunārāyaṇa Bhujā-bala Praudhāpratāpa Cakravartī*.

Gutta appears to have been a powerful chieftain. We have told that he became famous "throughout the world" on account of his title *Māṇḍalikagaṇḍa* (the brave among the chieftains),² That he was a staunch and liberal patron of Śaivism is borne out by one of his records,³ which contains a long praise of God Śiva and of Śaivism. The record also says that Śiva is the only God on earth. It is important to note that Viṣṇuśaiva terms such as *Liṅga* and *Jaṅgama* are used in the description. It seems that Liṅgāyatism made great progress by the middle of the thirteenth century. Even the Guttas who were staunch followers of Brahmanic faith could not be immune from its influence. It is worthy of note that the same Gutta inscription informs us that the Yādava

(1) Fleet, *P. S. O. C. Inscriptions*, Nos. 110, 111.

(2) *Ibid.*, No. 111.

(3) *Ibid.*

Emperor Mahādēva ordered his *Mahāpradhāna Sarvādhikāri* Dēkarasa of Taragele to make gifts to the god Śiva of Muktatīrtha for the purpose of feeding the Liṅgāyat *Jaiṅgas*. This grant thus bears an eloquent testimony to the fact that even the Imperial Vaiṣṇava dynasty of the Yādavas helped Virāṣaivism to flourish in its Empire.

The long eulogistic passages in the records, describing the military valour of Gutta III, would have us believe that he was a powerful chieftain and a skilful warrior.

The most important political event in the reign of Gutta was the Yādava-Hoysaḷa war. There was an invasion against the Hoysaḷas in 1271 A. D. under the Yādava king Mahādēva. As Gutta III was the southern-most feudatory of the Yādavas, it is quite likely that he was compelled to join his overlords against the Hoysaḷas. According to a Nāgamaṅgala epigraph,¹ the great Sēvuṇa king Mahādēva was marching forth to the battle without fear, mounted on his elephant, when it refused to stand, and he had to take to his fine horse; but this also becoming frightened, he said in terror "Flight is best" (*palāyanam Kuśalam*) and fled in one night. The Cannarāyapaṭṇa record² adds the detail that, having entered the battle, Mahādēva was unable to endure and, leaving his cavalry force, ran away in a night. In both these inscriptions, the name of Perumala-dēva-daṇṇāyaka, the great general of Narasimha III, is mentioned; and he is described as a source of "security" to his sovereign. It is said of him that he offered the lotus of the brave Ratnapāla's head to the Goddess of Victory, and captured his *Javanike* (curtain or tent) and received the name *Javanike Nārāyaṇa*. Ratnapāla was probably the general of the Sēvuṇas, who lay dead on the field at the hands of Perumala. The Yādavas, however, did not give up all hopes. The army encamped for some time

(1) *Ep. Car.*, IV, Ng, 39.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, V, Bl. 164, 165.

in the Guttavolal-nāḍ near Harihara.¹ After recruiting new soldiers evidently from the Gutta kingdom, the Yādavas under the general Sājuva Tikkama led a victorious expedition and invaded Dwārasamudra and brought back as tributes all kinds of wealth especially elephants and horses. These events happened in 1261, the year of Mahādēva's death. Mahādēva's successor Rāmacandra renewed the attack on Dwārasamudra in 1276. We are told in Hoysaḷa records that with the assistance of Irūṅgala and other powerful chiefs, Sājuva Tikkama, the General of the Yādavas, invaded the Hoysaḷa territory.² It is quite possible that one of these powerful chieftains who are said to have joined Tikkama in the Hoysaḷa records was Gutta III. It is thus apparent that Gutta's reign was one of protracted warfare. In spite of the Yādava success, the Hoysaḷas remained the masters of the Banavāse Province.³ Thus Gutta seems to have lost his Banavāse *naḷs*, which were first added to the Gutta kingdom in the reign of his grand-father Vīra-Vikramāditya III.

We have no means to settle the exact year of Gutta's death. Nevertheless, we shall not be far from truth if we presume that he died in or about 1280.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, V, On, 269.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 59.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sb. 45.

CHAPTER X.

THE END OF THE DYNASTY.

The dynasty of the Guttas practically comes to an end with the death of Gutta III. A few years after his death, which seems to have occurred in about A. D. 1280, began the decline of the Yādava kingdom, which included the principality of Guttavoḷal.

We do not know who succeeded Gutta III as the king of Guttavoḷal-naḍ. A Cauḍaḍāmpur inscription dated in A. D. 1265 mentions Hīriyadēva and Jōyidēva III, the younger brothers of Gutta III who is here styled a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, "lord of Ujjani, the best of towns, and born in the lineage of Candragupta." This is the last Gutta record that has yet been discovered. As it refers to the reign of Gutta III, it does not help us in settling as to who succeeded him. Nevertheless, the mention of the two younger brothers is significant inasmuch as it may lead us to the presumption that the elder of them, namely, Hīriyadēva succeeded Gutta III.

So then, the most important political event in the reign of Hīriyadēva was the renewal of the Hoysala-Yādava conflict by Vīra-Ballāḷa III. This conflict had immediate effects on the Gutta kingdom as we shall presently see. This happened after a few years following the defeat of the Yādavas by Allā-ud-din in 1294⁸. Vīra-Ballāḷa had by this time composed the differences existing between the two rival Hoysala kingdoms and had united all the territories under his rule. After this he decided to avail himself of the weakness of the Yādavas to make a bid for the suzerainty over the

(1) *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, II, p. 494, referred to by Dr. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 584.

(2) *Ferishta-Briggs*, I, 304-10.

Dekkan. Accordingly, he set out on an expedition and appears to have invaded the territories of the Guttas and the Hāṅgal Kadambas, the feudatories of the Yādavas. A *vīragal* assigned to 1299 informs us that, while he marched on Hāṅgal, he was plundering the enemy territory on his way.¹ It is thus apparent that the Hoysala king overran Guttavoḷal-nad which lay to the south of Hāṅgal.

It is quite natural that the Gutta and the Kadamba *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* were helped by their Yādava overlords in their struggle against the Hoysalas. As a matter of fact, a Hoysala epigraph of 1305 speaks of Vīra-Ballala III as marching against the Yādava *Cakravarti*, who had opened hostilities against the Hoysalas and had determined to capture their king². But the Yādavas had soon to abandon this war for good on account of the fresh invasion of Dēvagiri by Malik Kāfur.

The conquest of Dēvagiri by the Muhammadans and the death of king Samkara at the hand of Malik Kāfur marks the end of the Yādava Empire. This event happened in A. D. 1312. Only two years before this, that is in 1310, Malik Kāfur had continued his march to the south, and, having effected the conquest of Dvārasamudra, had returned to Delhi in A. D. 1311. As regards the route of this southern invasion, Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has rightly shown that Malik Kāfur followed the road from "Pandharpur to Bijāpur, from Bijāpur to Harihar, from Harihar to Hīriyūr and thence across from the main road to Baṇāvur and Halēbīd"³. It, therefore, follows that Malik Kāfur passed through the northern portion of Guttavoḷal-nāḍ on whose frontiers the town of Harihar situated. All this must have had salutary effects on the Gutta kingdom. The great political confusion that arose in the Dekkan on account of

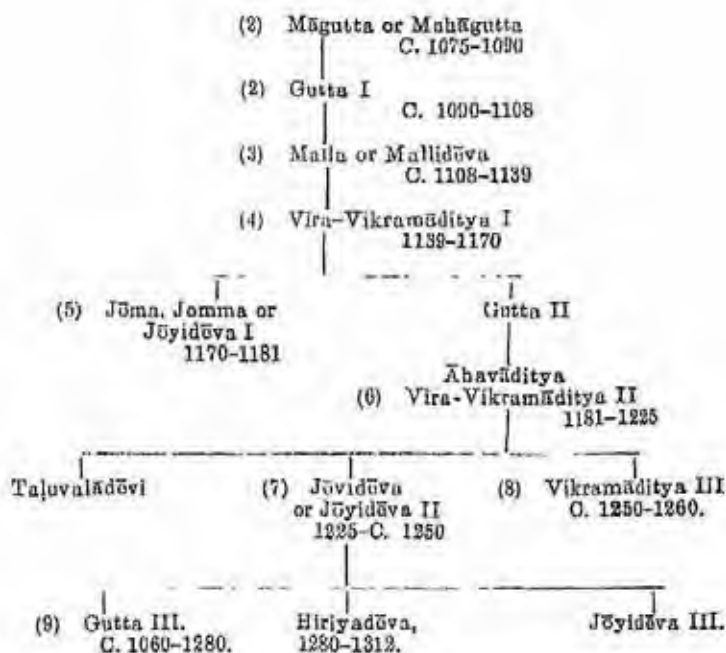
(1) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sb. 45.

(2) *Ep. Car.* VIII, Sb. 156.

(3) Aiyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 101-102.

this Muhammadan invasion seems to have proved fatal to the very existence of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvarīan* kingdoms of Karnāṭaka. The defeat of the Hindu imperial dynasties like the Yādavas and the Hoysaḷas was a severe death-blow to the feudatory families of the Dekkan. The very existence of these feudatory states was based on the support of the more powerful kingdoms to which they were subordinate. Hence it is no wonder if we do not hear anything of the Guttas after the downfall of the Yādavas.

The Guttas of Guttal.



Note.—Figure in the bracket denotes the number of the chapter.

PART IX.

INTERNAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Extent of the Empire.

Regarding the administrative system of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras and their overlords, much information can be culled out of the lithic records so far discovered. In its greatest extent, the Cālukyan Empire extended over a vast area not in the least insignificant even from the modern point of view. Speaking roughly, it comprised the whole of the Kannaḍa country, a considerable portion of that part of the Dekkan which is now known as Mahārāṣṭra, and the coastal Koṅkaṇi tract called Gon.

It was but natural that such an extensive empire was divided into many provinces. The greater portion of it was governed by the feudatory chiefs styled the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras, who were the members of great noble families enjoying a peculiar kind of political position which was neither complete independence amounting to full-fledged sovereignty, nor the complete subordination of the protected Native States of modern India. Though they recognised the overlordship of the paramount power, they were independent monarchs in the sense that they possessed the right of waging war with one another, a right which is denied to the subsidiary States of to-day.

The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras even occasionally "assumed an attitude which rendered it necessary for the paramount sovereign to undertake operations against them and reduce them to obedience." For instance, we are told that the Hoysaḷa Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara and the Goa Kadamba chief once rose in revolt against Vikramāditya VI who with some diffi-

culty managed to keep them back in check.¹ The feudatory princes while acknowledging the authority of paramount sovereigns, evidently enjoyed a great amount of independence and frequently omitted to mention their supreme master in their records. According to Dr. Fleet, the expression "*sukhasamkathā vinūdadam rājyam gēyu*" (ಸುಖಸಂಕಥಾ ವಿನೋದದಿಂ ರಾಜ್ಯಂ ಗೇಯು) should be rendered by "ruling with the pleasure of an agreeable or friendly interchange of communications (with the paramount sovereign)"². This, we think, is not only as close a literal translation as is possible, but it would also convey the idea that the feudatory princes enjoyed the status of semi-independence. This expression is found in the records of the Raṭṭas,³ the Sindas of Yelburgā,⁴ the Guttas of Guttal,⁵ the Pāṇḍyas of Uccaṅgi,⁶ and the Kadambas of Goa.⁷

The measure of independence which the feudatories enjoyed in maintaining a sufficiently large force of arms is manifest from the fact that the Hoyasaṇa Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Viṣṇu-Vardhan once invaded Uccaṅgi and the Belvola country, and carried his arms as far to the north as to bathe his horse in the waters of the river Kṛṣṇā.⁸ And it was only through the instrumentality of another Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, namely, the Sinda chief Ācugi II, that the invasion was stopped.⁹ That some of these chiefs were very powerful can be easily

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions, Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J.B.B.R.A.S., XI, p. 247.

(2) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 428.

(3) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti, and Belgaum*, J.B.B.R.A.S., X, p. 252.

(4) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J.B.B.R.A.S., XI, p. 286.

(5) P. S. and O. C. *Inscriptions*, No. 109.

(6) P. S. and O. C. *Inscriptions*, No. 109.

(7) Fleet, *Inscriptions, Relating to the Kadamba of Goa*, J.B.B. R.B.S. IX, 297.

(8) *Ind. Ant.*, II, p. 302.

(9) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J.B.B.R.A.S., XI, pp. 234, 244 and 260.

gathered from the achievements of the Sinda prince just mentioned, who is recorded to have pursued and prevailed against the Hoysala, took Gove, put Lakṣma to fight in war, valorously followed after Pāṇḍya, dispersed at all times the Malupas, seized upon the Koṅkan, gave Gove and Uppinakṭṭe to the flames, and like a demon, swallowed up and vomitted forth a certain Bhōja¹. It is true that Ācugi was backed by his Emperor Vikrama. Nevertheless, the fact remains that Ācugi, though only a chief, possessed a mighty army, the existence of which further implies that he was left free in the act of maintaining a large military force. What was true of Ācugi was also true of other Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras.

This important conquest of Ācugi also indicates that either the Kadambas of Goa, the Pāṇḍyas, and the Silāhāras of Karād joined with the Hoysalas in some general conspiracy against their sovereign, or else they took advantage of the Hoysala invasion to raise disturbances on their own account. In either case, it becomes clear that the feudatory chiefs were to a great extent immune from the central control even under so powerful an emperor as Vikramāditya. It may be said that the whole Cālukyan Empire was a loose confederacy unique in itself, whose principle object was perhaps to check the tide of the Cōla invasions, and protect the integrity and independance of the Kannaḍa country. The Cālukyas and their feudatories, being the permanent inhabitants of Karnāṭaka, must have felt a deep love for its culture; and hence must have willingly wielded themselves into a federation for the preservation of Kannaḍa culture. That feeling of provincialism was so much roused in this period is manifest from the fact that almost all the inscriptions are written in Kannaḍa and not in Sanskrit as in the earlier period. The feeling was so strong that we come across pure Kannaḍa official designa-

(1) *Ibid.*,

tions such as *Nāḍa-heggaḍe*, *Manevergaḍe*, *Hiriya-heggaḍe*, *Kaḍitaverggade* and *Haḍapadava*, propularly used for the first time. The Cōḷa kings were hated not only for their being in deadly enmity with the Cālukyas, but also for their being the members of a non-Kannaḍa nationality. Thus for example, the Gavarwāḍ inscription of Sōmēśvara II calls the Cōḷa monarch Rājēndra a "deadly sinner the Tivūḷa, styled, the Pāṇḍyacōḷa."¹ Tivūḷa is a byc-form of the common word Tigūḷa meaning A Tamil.

The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras.

The *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* had their own family ensigns and emblems and were entitled to the honour of the *Pañca-Mahāśabda*. These designations and emblems further imply that for all practical purposes the feudatory chiefs were sovereigns in their respective territories. The *Pañca-Mahāśabda*, which denotes the sounds of five great musical instruments, was a special mark of distinction to persons of high rank and authority. These five great instruments are the Sṛṅga, Tammata, Śaṅkha, Bhēri, and Jayaghantā as enumerated by a Līṅgāyat writer². Besides these, there are inscriptional references to certain specific musical instruments which were the special privileges of the respective *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras*. Thus for example, the Raṭṭa chieftains were heralded by the sounds of *trivaḷi-tūrya nirghoṣaṇa*,³ while the Kadambas of Goa had the epithet *permaḷṭitūrya-nirghoṣaṇa*.⁴

The feudatory chiefs seemed to have been surrounded by pomp, dignity and oriental ostentation with which the ancient monarchy was generally associated. A contempor-

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 245.

(2) *Ind. Ant.*, XII, p. 96, referred to by Mr. Phatak.

(3) *Fleet, Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundattā and Belgaum*, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, X, p. 268.

(4) *Ind. Ant.*, XI, p. 273.

ary Kannada poet gives us a graphic description of a royal procession as he saw it in his own day. It runs thus : " While the dancing girls of the harem, rising behind, came waving *cawris* on both sides, while white umbrellas, the *pali-kétana* banner, and the banners bearing the figures of a moon, a sun, a lion, a tiger, an alligator, and a fish, and other signs of royalty were flowing before; while the five great musical instruments and the auspicious drums were being sounded; and while the heralds, bards, and beggars, and poor and helpless people, were being presented with gifts to their satisfaction, Vidyuccōra proceeded to the Caityālaya adorned with a thousand summits, alighted from the state elephant, went thrice round a basadi, bowed to the god and spoke thus"¹. It will be remembered that the present-day Dasara procession of the Mysore Mahārāja does not very much differ in its nature from the ancient one above.

The term *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* was, of course, generally applied to the great hereditary chiefs. But it would also appear from some inscriptions that the designation, in a few cases, was given to high-born generals as a special favour. It should not, however, be supposed that all those who were styled *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* were of the same political status and rank. It is true that the famous families such as the Sindas, the Raṭṭas, the Guttas and the Pāṇḍyas were all equal to one another so far as their relations with paramount sovereign were concerned. Nevertheless, we come across a few " *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* " who are reported to have been subordinate not to the emperors but to those feudatory chiefs whom we may now style the major *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras*.² Thus for instance, a certain *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* is recorded to have been ruling the Kōgaḷi Five Hundred as a subordinate to the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya³.

(1) *Ind. Ant.*, XII, p. 96, quoted by Mr. Pathak.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk, 136, 225, 184, 30,

(3) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1915, B. 450

Similarly, one Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara Nācidēvara was the subordinate of the Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara Pratāpa Jagadēkamalla Pāṇḍya¹. It may also be noted that the major Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara is sometimes termed, though occasionally, a mere Māṇḍalika or Maṇḍalēśvara². This was perhaps done with a view to avoid the inconvenience that arose in pronouncing that grand-cloquent but lengthy term.

A substantial portion of the Kuntala country was governed by these feudatory princes, each ruling his own hereditary domain as a monarch. The Silāhāras of southern Koṅkaṇ held the territory now occupied by the Rutnāgiri District. The Silāhāras of northern Koṅkaṇ ruled in the neighbourhood of Kolhāpur and the Silāhāras of Karāḍ were in charge of the Karahāṭa Province which included the southern part of the present day Satara district and the extreme north of the Belgaum District. It should be noted that these three branches did not rule concurrently but at different times. Then came the Raṭṭas who, as we have already seen, were the hereditary governors of the Kūṇḍi Three-thousand Province with its capitals, Saundatti and Belgaum. The Kadambas of Hānagal were in charge of the Dhārwar District, while the Kadambas of Goa ruled the present day Portuguese territory, the North Kanara District and a small portion of land that extended above the ghāts. The Sindas of Yelburgā held the territory which is now represented by the eastern parts of the Bijapur and the Dhārwar Districts, the northern part of the Bellāry District and a considerable portion of the Nizam Karnāṭaka. The Sindas of Kurgōḍu ruled over a greater part of the Bellāry district. The Pāṇḍyas of Uccaṅgi ruled the Nōlambavāḍi Province corresponding to the Chitaldroog district. The Guttas were the masters of Guttavolalu, a small territory now represented by the Karajgi and Rānebennūr Tālukas of

(1) *Ibid.*, 1919, B. 264

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 112.

the Dhānṛwār District. The Sindas of Belagavarti ruled the territory round their capital, now corresponding to the Honnālī Tālukā of the Shimoga District and also a portion of Rānebennūr. The Sēnāvaras held the Western part of the Kadūr district, while the Sāntaras ruled over the Sāntalige Province, which corresponds generally to the present Tirthahallī Tālukā and neighbouring parts. And finally, the Hoysala Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras ruled over an extensive territory which extended over the greater portions of the Hāssan and Kadūr districts.

The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras were the powerful guardians of the Cālukyan Empire inspite of the fact that some of them occasionally sought for an opportunity to throw off the yoke of their emperor. Their function was not only administrative in its character but military as well. They governed the country in times of peace and commanded the army in times of war. We have already seen how the Sinda chief Ācugi devoted his life and energy to the preservation of the great empire. The early Hoysalas in their capacity of feudatory chiefs were ever ready to stem the tide of Cōla invasions. Ereyaṅga Hoysala, says an epigraph, was a powerful right hand to the Cālukyas¹. He is recorded to have defeated the Cōla king and plundered his capital.² The Uccaṅgi chief Vijaya Pāṇḍya is stated to have subdued Male and gave it to the Cālukyas.³ Again an inscription of 1121 tells us that "to break the pride of the Cōla, to harass Āndhra, to cease Kalinga to fall, to frighten and attack the Aṅga, Vaṅga and Māgadha kings, to conquer Mālavā in battle, to trample on the famous Gurjjara,—Pāṇḍya Bhūpāla is alone sufficient, such was the confidence in him of the emperor Vikrama.⁴ Though the chief's power is evidently exaggerated, we cannot escape the conclusion

(1) *Ep. Car.* VII, Sh. 64.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 187.

(4) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 167.

that he was considered a pillar of strength supporting the Empire. It seems that the Emperors retained full confidence in their faithful Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras. It was on account of the active support of the feudatories that the Empire became all the more powerful throughout the long period that extended over two centuries.

Territorial Divisions.

The Empire was divided into many divisions and subdivisions for administrative purposes. One peculiar feature of these divisions was that figures were attached to each name denoting the division. Thus for instance, we come across the Beḷvola 300, the Kukkanūr 30, the Kūṇḍi 3,000 the Kisukāḍ 70 and so on. As to the meaning of these numerical figures, there is difference of opinion among scholars. Mr. Rice is of the opinion that these divisions commonly had their revenue value attached to the name and further remarks that the figure indicated the *niṣkas*.¹ *The Imperial Gazetteer* says that these numbers refer to their revenue capacity. It also suggests that they refer to the number of the *Nāḍs* or districts². The latter view can be easily discarded. For it is impossible to maintain that there were 7½ lakhs *nāḍs* in Raṭṭapadi or 30,000 districts in the Kūṇḍi province. Dr. S. Krishnasvami Iyengar remarks: "The figures attached to each name seem to indicate either the revenue paid or the value of the produce, as is customary even now in certain localities ... Dr. Fleet takes them to stand for the number of townships in the division, in spite of apparent exaggeration. This does not find support in existing practice, which clearly indicates that it is either revenue, or income or sometimes the quantity of seed required."³ Dr. Fleet's view that the figure denotes the number of villages seems to be the correct one. In a Raṭṭa

(1) Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 174.

(2) *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. X, p. 291. note.

(3) Iyengar, *Ancient India*, p. 76, Foot-note.

inscription it is expressly stated that the Vēṇugrāme-seventy contained seventy villages.¹ Similarly, we are told in another inscription that the two provinces of Belvola and Puligere jointly comprised six hundred villages.² Moreover, if we believe the revenue theory, it becomes very difficult to hold the view that the revenue never fluctuated. The opinion of Mr. Rice that they indicate the *niṣkas* cannot be supported for the reason that taxes were not usually collected in money. As regards the seed theory of Dr. Iyengar, it cannot be accepted as sound for the simple reason that the quantity of seed must vary with the different kinds of corn. It is not also possible to think that each province was sown with only one kind of corn. Considering all these improbabilities and practical impossibilities, we are inclined to support the view of Dr. Fleet who has inscriptional evidence on his side. It is true that the numbers are sometimes grossly exaggerated. Thus for example, the province of Nōlambavāḍi 32,000, which more or less represents the modern Chitaldroog District with a portion of Bellāry, cannot be expected to have contained as many as 32,000 villages. It seems quite probable that the number was simply traditional in certain cases. Nevertheless, it is safe to presume that the number of villages in each territorial division or province was ascertained.

It appears that the system of dividing and sub-dividing the country into circles of tens, twenties, hundreds and thousands was followed. It might be naturally expected that major divisions such as the Kūṇḍi 3000, Nōlambavāḍi 32,000, Banavāse 12,000; Halasige 12,000 were subdivided into smaller units like the Vēṇugrāme 70, Masavāḍi 140 Havye 500 and Narayaṅgal 12.

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S. X, p. 252.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 396.

Mahāsāmantādhipatis.

The Emperor appointed the imperial officers styled the Mahāsāmantādhipatis, who were entrusted with the collection of the imperial dues like the *perjjuṅka*, *Vaḍḍarāvuḷa* and the *biḷkoḷe*. These governors saw to the proper defence of kingdom and kept an eye over the actions of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras. They generally belonged to high noble families and were often entitled to the honour of *Pañcamahāśabda*.¹ The office of the Mahāsāmantādhipati was both military and civil. Sometimes they discharged many functions according to their capacity and degree of loyalty. Thus the Mahāsāmantādhipati Bhivaṇayya was the Great August General, the High Minister, Steward of the Household, Provincial Registrar, and Administrator of the Palāśige Twelve-Thousand.² Similarly, Eraga was the Great August General, the High Minister, and the Steward Household.³ Another Mahāsāmantādhipati is called a Daṇḍanāyaka.⁴ Again the Mahāsāmantādhipati Mahādēvarasa was the Karituragapaṭṭa-Sāhaṇi (groom of the head-trappings of elephants and horses) and the Manevergaḍe and the Daṇḍanāyaka.⁵

It seems that care was taken to appoint only men of high qualifications to these important posts. They were not only efficient in their official duty, but were men of high culture. For instance, Eremayya was "gallant to the lady, the art of literature, bee to the lotus-face of Sarāsvatiand a jewel in the ear of Sarasvati."⁶ Again Bhivaṇayya is described as a "bestower of desirable reward upon cultured and agreeable persons."⁷

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sb. 474, 476, 70; E. I., V, pp. 63, 220 and XVI, p. 34.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, pp. 34-35.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 63.

(4) *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 220.

(5) *Ep. Ind.*, p. 234.

(6) *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 63.

(7) *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 34.

These high officials enjoyed certain important rights. We are told that a certain Mahāsāmantādhipati could remit the whole tax of Vaḍḍarāvula to be paid either by the individuals or corporations. This he could do without the consent of the king.¹ But there is reason to believe that this right was not frequently used. It seems that it was exercised only on such occasions when it was too late to receive the royal sanction. We have epigraphical references to show that grants were usually made after consulting the Emperor.

Kingship.

Coming to the head of the government both Imperial and Mahāmaṇḍalēśvarīan, we find that the king was the absolute head of the state in theory. The republican form of government was unknown to Karnāṭaka. It is true that we come across some republics in North India in Buddhist and Pre-Buddhist times. Mr. Jayaswal suggests that monarchy was a Dravidian institution borrowed by the Aryans.² Anyhow, the common form of Government in Ancient India either North or South was undoubtedly monarchy. Kingship in ancient Karnāṭaka was hereditary. But there is every reason to believe that in very early times, when the Kannāḍigas were living in tribal polity, kingship was elective. The Kannāḍa word *Arasu* which means *king*, gives the meaning *to choose* when used as a verb. This clearly shows that at a time when the Kannāḍa language was in the state of formation, kingship in Karnāṭaka was elective and not hereditary as it came to be in later times. Similarly, the Kannāḍa word *āḷu*, which means a servant, gives the meaning *to rule* when used as a verb. This again shows that the king was looked upon as a mere servant of the people. This was because his power

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 13.

(2) Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, part II, pp. 4-5.

and importance depended on the sweet will of his tribal community which had elected him a king or a servant to look after the well-being of its members. Hence the king was a servant. But later on when the people reached the agricultural and industrial stages, they must have felt the necessity of surrendering some of their powers to a strong leader. This in course of time led to one man's rule which in its turn gave rise to hereditary monarchy. The king now ceased to be considered as a mere servant. He was raised to the position of a real ruler and consequently came to be called a *Dore* or *Oḷeyan*, the master.

Thus the king in Cālukyan Karnāṭaka was an autocrat in theory. But in practice he was not so. The ministers exercised great influence over him, and hence it was difficult for the king to disregard their opinion. The king could not be absolute in the circumstances in which he was placed. His power was so limited by a system of checks and balances, the minister, the religious preceptor and the public opinion that he dared not to misuse his rights. In case the king turned to be oppressive, which was contrary to the religious and moral traditions of his crown and country, the people did not hesitate to rise in revolt. For instance, we are told in a Sorob inscription that fifty *nāḍs* once rose in rebellion against Bīra Sāntāra, the king of Sāntālige.¹ We all know that the emperor Bijjala had to lose both his crown and head in a civil war that ensued in the city.

According to an inscription of about 1075, the three attributes of royal power were (I) the capacity to rule, (II) to give advise and (III) to carry on war with energy.² Again a Cālukyan inscription describes the king as one "who levied taxes for the protection of all the world."³ It is thus clear that the paternal

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sb, 477.

(2) *Mys. Arch. Dept.*, 1928 No. 103.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 74.

principle of monarchy, which was so sacred to the Kautīliya *Arthaśāstra*, was recognised in the Cālukyan times. The king looked upon his subjects as his children. Just as a father would care for the good and welfare of his children, so also the king was expected to bestow his attention on the progress of the state. Besides, the king ruled the land according to the well-established laws of the realm. If he failed in his duty the public dared to protest against his action, and thus bring him back to his senses.

We are told in an inscription that a place by name Sāligrāma was originally called Sālipura; but subsequently owing to the misrule of one of the kings it was known as Avicārapura.¹ From this fact it is evident that if the rule of a monarch was found oppressive and tyrannical, the people had the courage to protest against and even to change the name of the king's capital. Unfortunately we do not know the name of the king who was thus responsible for causing the name of the town to be changed.

The king was expected to lead the army in times of war.² He was a tower of strength. He had to develop his body so as to make it fit for the affairs of the state.³ The characteristics of a just ruler, as can be gathered from inscriptions were to command the army heroically on the field of battle, to protect those who sought for his protection, to behave as a brother to the wives of other men, and to protect the virtuous and punish the wicked. The qualities of a typical king are described in a Ratta inscription which says that king Sēna was "resplendent being possessed of an army that was terrible by reason of its valour, ever enjoying the embraces of the goddess of knowledge, beloved husband of the lovely woman Authority, possessed of a large court, shining with a lustre like that of a sun, very

(1) *Mys. Arch. Dept.*, 1912-13, p. 16.

(2) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X., p. 229.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sb. 4.

generous, very haughty, the leader of the forces in the battle-field.....and the friend of learned men".¹ The three *śaktis* or powers which the king was expected to possess were the qualities of majesty, perseverance and counsel.² The king was also supposed to be acquainted with the six *gūṇas* or the six divine attributes namely, wisdom, creative energy, power, all-sufficiency, might and glory.³ It is true that these were the characteristics of rather an ideal king than those of an ordinary one. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that these lofty ideals must have impressed the kings who must have tried to act according to them.

The *Mānasollāsa* describes the duties and obligations of a true king. It says that the king should possess truthfulness, energy, blue-blood-virtue, youth, alertness, ability, mastery over vassals, courage and fine personality. If he failed to have the last mentioned qualification, he would be despised by women and servants. He had to win the good wishes of his subjects. He should show them that he is the fit person in whom they could repose their confidence. He should further ensure them their safety. Hence he should naturally be generous, ready to forgive and forget, sweet in speech, liberal to those who seek his protection, a true appreciator of merit, just, respectful towards elders, compassionate, a lover of the subjects and their welfare and lastly adventurous in spirit, industrious, cheerful, and above all truthful, honest and sensible.⁴

Besides the checks explained above, there was an additional safeguard to the wayward actions of the king in the class of learned men and religious preceptors who gave him counsel from time to time. The poets too had

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 229.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 252.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) Shrigondekar, *Mānasollāsa*, p. 29, slokas 2 to 9, cited by Mr. Pai, *The Cālukyas of Kalyani* (Unpublished Thesis), p. 405.

the privilege to tender their good counsel. Kings in ancient times could not be immune from the influence of poets. They took delight in holding assemblies "that were made charming by listening to many excellent new poems." ¹ The kings acquainted themselves with writings on the art of government.² Besides, Kauṭīliya *Arthśāstra*, Bhūṣaṇār-yaka's works relating to politics were studied.³

The tremendous influence that a powerful religious preceptor could wield over the king and the administration is manifest from a Raṭṭa inscription which says that the royal spiritual preceptor Muniandradēva, through his close acquaintance with the treatises on the use of weapons, became the instructor of Lakṣmīdēva. Through subduing many kingdoms he became the anointer of other kings. While Lakṣmīdēva "was firmly enduring," he "made the earth all of one standard of morality through his administration, persuaded with the excellent might of his arm the hostile kings, being a very lion to the elephants that were his enemies". Worthy of respect, Muniandradēva surpassed all others in his capacity for administration.⁴

The Capital and the Court

The royal city was a place of splendour and magnificence. It was "pleasing on account of all its riches and enjoyments"⁵. The buildings stood in extensive parks studded with great variety of trees and shrubs⁶. It was "large and resplendent as being full of all the means of accomplishing pleasure"⁷.

(1) *Ibid.*

(2) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S. X, p. 252.

(3) *Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 49.

(4) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, pp. 274-75.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 253.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 252.

The imperial as well as the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvarian court was maintained with great pomp and dignity. A king true to his tradition possessed a *śapīṭāṅga* which included a learned man, herald, songster, poet, jester, historian and the reader of the Puranas¹.

Besides the usual capital, some kings must have maintained a sanitorium. It has been expressly stated in a Dāvanagere inscription that Vijaya Pāṇḍyā had a pleasure house among the sandal trees on the slopes of the Malaya mountains².

The royal enjoyments, as recorded in the *Mānasollāsa*, are a beautiful palace, wrestling, cock-fighting, bringing up of dogs, poetry, music, dancing etc. The last class comprises spots in gardens and fields, or on mountains' and sandbanks, games, enjoyment in the company of women etc.³. *Vikramāṅkadēvūcarita* affords a vivid description of the kings' amusements. In the morning the king and the queen took walks in the gardens. "Later the whole harem was called out and the women amused themselves and the king with gathering flowers and fruits from trees and creepers"⁴. Then they took their bath in a tank. "Finally in the evening after enjoying the bright moon-light and after making a fresh toilet, the whole party sat down to a banquet at which *sura* or *madhu*, a highly intoxicating drink, flowed in streams"⁵. This picture, as gathered from the *Mānasollāsa* and the *Carita*, does not perhaps hold good in the case of Jaina monarchs, though it is a faithful picture of life led by a Hindu king. A Jaina inscription expressly states that such recreations such as gaming, hunting, eating flesh, associating with courtesans, ram-fighting and cock-fighting were forbidden royal amusements⁶. The inscription also lays stress

(1) *Ibid.* (2) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 5.

(3) Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 89.

(4) Buhler, *Vikramāṅkadeva Charita*, Intro., p. 40.

(5) *Ibid.* (6) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti & Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 234.

on leading a religious life and extols those kings who were devoted to giving gifts to world renowned saints and learned men¹.

Yuvarāja

It was an usual custom among kings to nominate one of his sons or younger brothers as Yuvarāja. This was partly done in order to be relieved of the burden of bearing the toil and turmoil of the kingdom all alone in old age and partly to initiate the successor in all the mysteries of state craft, so as to enable him to maintain the prestige and continue the traditions of the family. We learn from the Kalhōḷi inscription that Kārtavīrya IV Ratta was assisted in the government by his younger brother the Yuvarāja Mallikārjuna "who supported the heavy burden of the earth" (kingdom).² The same fact is repeated in a Belgaum inscription which says that Kārtavīrya IV, in company with his younger brother, the Heir-Apparent Prince Mallikārjuna was enjoying the delights of empire in the camp at Vāṇagrāma³. The Paṭṭadakal inscription shows that in A. D. 1163, Permāḍi Sinda's younger brother Cāvuṇḍa II, in conjunction with the princes (Kumāras), that is to say his sons Ācugi III and Permāḍi II, was ruling the Kisukāḍu-seventy and other districts⁴. It is to be noted that none of the sons had been yet chosen as a Yuvarāja. They ruled the country as Kumāras. It was usually the eldest son that was nominated the heir-apparent. But there is every reason to believe that the reigning monarch could sometimes nominate any younger son, if the elder proved unfit for the high post. For instance, Bilhana

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti & Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 234.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 230.

(3) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 25.

(4) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 272.

tells us that the eyes of Āhavamalla turned naturally to the more talented and better-fitted Vikrama when he wanted to nominate his successor. Hence the king made up his mind to appoint Vikrama as Yuvarāja in preference to his eldest son Sōmēśvara. But Vikrama thought that the dignity of Yuvarāja belonged more naturally to the elder and therefore refused to deviate from the time-honoured custom. Finally, Vikrama not moved by all his exhortions, Āhavamalla reluctantly raised Sōmēśvara to the dignity of Yuvarāja¹.

The Yuvarāja was often entrusted with responsible duties like those of attack and defence, and it seems that he discharged his functions with ability and success with which he justified the confidence placed in him². He sometimes had a province in his entire charge and sometimes acted as viceroy³.

The Chief queen.

The chief queen was an important personage in the Cālukyan system of administration. It appears that she was invested with some sort of executive power in the State. The queen, sitting by the side of the king and his ministers, appears in a frieze of Viṣṇuvardhana's *darbār* as depicted in the Bēlūr temple. Many queens are recorded to have been taking active part in public life, especially in the act of managing great educational institutions of the day⁴.

Queens as Rulers.

One peculiar feature of the Cālukyan polity was that the queens were ruling over districts. Thus, Dāmalādevi,

(1) Buhler, *Vikramanka-Deva-Charita*, III, 26-59.

(2) Karmarkar, *Chalukya Administration*, *Karnataka Historical Review*, Vol. I, p. 36.

(3) Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 305. (4) *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 273, etc.

the senior wife of Cāvuṇḍa II (Sinda), is recorded to have been exercising local powers of government at Paṭṭadakal¹. Jāyabbe, the younger wife of the Kadamba Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara of Hāṅgal, was ruling at Ajjaḍi with the help of a certain governor². Ketulādevi, the queen of Sōmēśvara I, was managing the excellent agrahāra of Ponnavaḍa³. Laksmīdēvi, the *piriyarasi* of Vikramāditya VI, is mentioned as ruling the eighteen agrahāras and the town of Dambal⁴. Malayamatidēvi, another of Vikramas wives, was governing the district attached to the agrahara of Pīriyakoriyur⁵. Similar instances can be multiplied. It seems that a sort of political education was imparted to girls of ruling classes in this period.

Departments.

Many departments of the administration are mentioned and many officials of different grades are referred to. We learn from some inscriptions that there was an officer called *Bāhattaraniyōgi*, the lord over seventy-two departments.⁵ The existence of this officer indicates that there were seventy-two departments. Unfortunately we have no evidence to understand the nature and scope of each of these departments. It might be that the number was simply traditional. Nevertheless, from the long lists of officials often mentioned in the inscriptions, it may be presumed that the administrative machinery under the Cālukyas was a highly systematised one.

Sandhi-vigrahin.

The *Mahāsandhuvigrahin*, or the chief minister for peace and war is frequently mentioned. It will be remembered

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa, Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 272.

(2) Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, pp. 199-100.

(3) *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 273. (4) *Ibid.*, X, p. 285.

(5) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, pp. 448-49.

that this important officer existed even during the rule of the early Cālukyas.¹ *Mahāsandhivigrahin* is generally referred to as *Hērisandhi-vigrahin* in the inscriptions of the later Cālukyas.² The Cālukyan Empire was divided into two halves for the purposes of foreign policy. Karnāṭaka proper formed the southern half, while the northern non-Kannaḍa portion was the other half. The foreign secretary for the Karnāṭaka was known by the designation Kannaḍa-sandhi-vigrahin,³ while the secretary for the northern division was called Lāṭa-sandhi-vigrahin.⁴

It appears that the Hēri-Sandhi-vigrahin was generally a person who had first served as one of the under-secretaries for foreign affairs. We are told that a certain Baṃmanayya was raised to the dignity of Hēri-Lāṭa-Karnāṭa-Sandhivigrahin from his post of Kannaḍa-Sandhi-Vigrahin.⁵ We also come across the designation Kannaḍa-Hēri-Lāṭa-Sandhi-Vigrahin.⁶ All these different terms clearly imply that there was a gradation of officers as Juniors and Seniors. Sometimes the governorship of provinces such as Kūṇḍi, Tarddavāḍi, Banavāse, and Palasige was also held by these officers. For instance, the above mentioned Baṃmanayya is mentioned as governing the Banavāsi province in the year A. D. 1143 when he was holding the post of Hēri-Lāṭa-Kannaḍa-Sandhi-vigrahin.⁷ It is really interesting to note that some of these officials were even authorised to use the insignia of Royalty. It is said that one, Rēvaṇa, who was appointed the Hēri-sandhivigrahin by Śomēśvara II, was given the authority to use the insignia of royalty by Vikramāditya VI.⁸ It seems that this important officer

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 92; *Ind. Ant.*, V. P. 49; *Mysore Arch. Dept.*, 1927 p. 57.

(2) *Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 85.

(3) Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 144.

(4) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 457.

(5) *Ep., Ind.*, XII, p. 271.

(6) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, pp. 457-458.

(7) *Ibid.* p. 485.

(8) *Ibid.* p. 458.

was a person equipped with high learning and one who was fully informed in the knowledge of his duties. We are told that Ravidēva obtained the office of Lāṭa-Sandhi-Vigrahin from Sāmēśvara I, "having gained his approval by the splendour of his vast learning".¹ Ravidēva, says the inscription, has dignity without conceit, learning without error, purity without addiction to the wives of other men, splendour without blemish, power without sin, rise of greatness of learning without its being feared by any.² These were the characteristics of a model Sandhivigrahin.

The *Mānasollāsa* has interesting verses on the qualifications of a Sandhivigrahika. It rules thus :

"The ideal Sandhivigrahika is one who is bold, wise, and proficient in all the languages, who knows fully well the essence of war and peace, and who is well versed in scripts and able to read them out. He must also know the principles of six-fold systems, must be able to recognise the divisions of the time and place, must know the income and expenditure of the state, and acquaint himself with the peoples and the products of the land. Above all, he must be a person mindful of saving money and able to distinguish between good and bad, and be a master of all actions".³

The Minister.

The minister was known by different names such as Mahāpradhāna,⁴ Mantri⁵ or Saciva.⁶ He was the most important of the royal officers. According to a Sikārpur inscription, the minister is considered as the bearer of the burden of administrative affairs, and the promoter of the kingdom.⁷ We are told that the minister Bācirāja of Kārtavīrya IV obtained distinction on account of his policy

(1) *Ep. Ind.* XIII., p. 287.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 288.

(3) Shrigondekar. *Manasollasa*, p. 40, slokas, 127-30.

(4) *South Ind. Ep.*, No. 337 of 1920.

(5) Shrigondekar, O. C., p. 34.

(6) *Ep. Ind.* XIII, p. 20.

(7) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 136.

which was aimed at the advancement of the kingdom.¹ To the king a true minister was a vision of the lore of statecraft in times of consideration, a keen missile of victory in the field of stern battle, and a minister of amusement in time of sport, says a Rāṭṭa record.² Bīcana, the prime-minister of Kārtavīrya IV, was considered as a successful counsellor owing to his attraction of worthy men, control over those whom he loved, fascinating influence over friends, extirpation of the wicked, maintenance of the dignity of all other ministers, and hatred of all evil designs.³

The minister was the king's right hand in administrative matters. Hence Sōmēśvara says that the Muntri should have sound knowledge of politics and finance. He should be brave, clever, righteous, sensible, secretive, firm, devoted, unprejudiced, and worldly-wise. Moreover, the minister should be a native and not a foreigner.⁴

Other Officers.

An inscription of Sōmēśvara III mentions the following officers; *Mahāpradhāna* or the prime minister, *Antahpurādhyakṣa* or the superintendent of the harem, *Karituraga-sāhaṇa-vergaḍe* or the minister for elephants, forces and cavalry, *Śrīkaranam* or the chief accountant, *Hērisandivhigrahi* or the senior minister for foreign affairs, *Paśāpita* or the master of the robes, *Sēnādhipati* or the general, *Maṇevergaḍe* or the palace controller, *Haḍapadava*, the bearer of the betel-pouch, *Kaḍilavergaḍe* or the secretary for correspondence, *the Rājādhyakṣa* or the king's representative and the *Daṇḍanāyaka*, or the master of the staff.⁵

Besides these, we come across the *Dharmādhikārin*,⁶ the chief superintendent of religious affairs.

This post was held in A. D. 1098 by one Sōmēśvara Bhaṭṭa, who was a learned and eminent Ṛgvēdi Brāhmaṇa.

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, pp. 24-25. (2) *Ibid.*, p. 33. (3) *Ibid.*, p. 25.

(4) Shrigondekar, *Manasollas*, pp. 33-34, slokas, 52-59.

(5) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1921, 440 of 1920. (6) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 349.

Sōmēśvara was also raised to the rank of a high minister, with the tokens of royalty. The inscription is eloquent over his many virtues, his high rank in the royal palace, his mastery of sacred and secular learning, his pious practices and his beneficence, especially in the foundation of charity houses, Brāhmanic endowments and monasteries for Vēdic and other studies.¹ It appears that the *Dharmādihikārin* gave religious advice to the king.

Then there was the *Śāsanaādihikārin*, the chief officer of the department of charters.² He was entrusted with the authority of issuing charters. The *Śāsanaādihikārin* was assisted by the *Dānaādihikārin* who would write out a charter of gift with his superior's permission.³ *Mahāpradhāna* had an under-secretary by designation *Balumanusya*.⁴ *Mane-veggāḍe* who is frequently mentioned was an important officer in charge of the royal household.⁵ He is sometimes referred to as a *Manuvarggaḍe Daṇḍanāyaka*,⁶ which clearly indicates that he was allowed to discharge the functions of a *Daṇḍanāyaka* as well. The highest privilege of a *Mane-veggāḍe-daṇḍanāyaka* appears to have been that of being authorised to use the five drums.⁷ We are told that the illustrious *Mane-veggāḍe-daṇḍanāyaka* Gaṇḍamayya was entitled to the five drums, and was appointed a *Mahāpracaṇḍa-daṇḍanāyaka* who now made himself a terror to the enemies and a Cāṇakya in the science of politics.⁸ The *Bānasaveggāḍe* was the manager of the Royal kitchen.⁹

Sarvādihikāri was the finance member, and no gift of taxes could be made without his permission by the sub-

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 349.

(2) *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, p. 19.

(3) *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 155.

(4) *Mys. Arch. Dept.*, 1912-1913, p. 38.

(5) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1921, 449 of 1920.

(6) *Mys. Arch. Dept.*, 1928, p. 69.

(7) *Ibid.* (8) *Ibid.*

(9) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1914, p. 26, No. 230.

ordinate tax-collectors.¹ An inscription from the Dhārwar district registers a certain gift of taxes by one *Suṅkaverḡgaḡe* (tax-collector) Viṭṭarasa of the *paṇṇāya* tax, only at the command of the *Sarvādhikāri* Mahādēva Bhaṭṭa.²

The *Rājādhyakṣa* the king's representative is mentioned as having been present at a time when the Mahājanas of a village presented lands and houses for the worship of a certain deity.³

One other term we come across in the records is *Sāvāsī*,⁴ the guard of the female apartments. These guards were under the control of the *Antahpurādhyakṣa*, the superintendent of the harem.⁵ The *Mahāpradhāna* is reported to have been acting as an *Antarpurādhyakṣa* as well in a Sorab inscription.⁶

There was the *Daṇḍanāyaka*, the master of the staff.⁷ The exact scope and nature of his duties cannot be decided in the light of the available materials. A *Daṇḍanāyaka* is represented as a judge in a Kadamba record.⁸ An inscription of the reign of Vikramāditya VI tells us that a certain *Daṇḍanāyaka* was in charge of the tolls in Kibbatti.⁹ Again, a *Daṇḍanāyaka* is said to have been a *Sarvādhikārīn*, that is the finance member.¹⁰ In another record he is spoken of as a *Manverḡgaḡe*.¹¹ It is thus evident that the term does not always denote some specified office, but appears to be only an honorary appellation in many cases. The appellations

(1) *Ibid.*, 1927-28, No. E. 77.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*, 1914, p. 15, No. 126.

(4) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sb, 170.

(5) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1921, 440 of 1920.

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) *Rice, Mysore Inscriptions*, Nos., 45 and 55; *South Ind. Ep.*, 1927-28, No. E 38.

(8) *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, IX, p. 308.

(9) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1914, p. 13, No. 114.

(10) *Ibid.*, 1927-28, No., E 79.

(11) *Mys. Arch. Dept.*, 1928, p. 69.

Mahāpracaṇḍa-danḍanāyaka, literally meaning "the great mighty master of the staff" and *Hiriya Daṇḍanāyaka* the senior master of the staff² also occur. A certain *Danḍanāyaka* is recorded to have been assisted by four clerks.³ The chief officer in charge of the account department was known as the *Karaṇādhipati*.⁴ The head accountant was not only an efficient person well trained in his duty, but generally appears to have been well devoted to literature. We are told that one Pōturuṣa, a head accountant, had studied and understood many plays and poems, was praised by the learned, and was a draught of intoxicating delight to the best spirits of his race.⁵

Officers in Charge of Territorial Divisions.

Among the officers in charge of the various administrative divisions, the *Nāḍa-gāvūṇḍa* was perhaps the most important. He is sometimes styled as *Nālaprabhu*.⁶ The *nāḍa-gāvūṇḍa* often asked the kings for grants to be made to religious and other institutions in his territory. We are told that the *Nālaprabhu*s of *Nāgarkhaṇḍa* once obtained from the king an order that the property of a certain temple was released of some taxes.⁷ It is interesting to learn that this office was once continued to the widow on the death of her husband.⁸ It is said that she was protecting her territory well, though a woman in the pride of her own heroic bravery.⁹ She was skilled in ability for good government and was faithful to the *Jinendra śāsana*. The *nāḍa-gāvūṇḍa* was working in

(1) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1927-28, No., E 77, *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 13.

(2) Fleet *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 457.

(3) Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, No., 45,

(4) *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 154.

(5) Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, No. 74.

(6) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Hl. 7.; *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 238.

(7) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Hl. 7.

(8) *Ibid.*, VII, Sk., 219.

(9) *Ibid.*

conjunction with the *nāḍa-setṭi*, the *nāḍa-rājaguru*, the *nāḍa-sēnabōva* or the accountant and the *nāḍa-heggaḍe*.¹

The Yewūr inscription mentions the following officers : the *Rāṣṭrapati*, the *Viṣayapati*, the *Grāmakūṭaka*, the *Ayuktaka*, the *Niyuktaka*, the *Adhikārika* and the *Mahattara*.² The same officers also occur in a *Dāvaṇagere* inscription.³ The *Rāṣṭrapatis* were the lords of the provinces called *Raṣṭra*. But the term *Raṣṭra* was not so popular under the later Cālukyas as it was in the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* kingdom. The *Viṣayapatis* were a replica on a smaller scale of the *Rāṣṭrapatis*. They were in charge of districts called *Viṣaya* in Sanskrit and *Nāḍu* in Kannada. The *Viṣaya* was further divided into *Kampanas*. The *Grāmkūṭaka* was the head of the village and not different from the *Gāvunḍa*, the only difference being that the former term was Sanskrit while the latter was Kannada. As regards the *Ayuktaka*, the *Niyuktaka*, the *Adhikārika* and the *Mahattara*, the nature of their functions is not apparent. Dr. Barnett translates these terms as sheriff, commissioner, official and president.⁴ That does not in any way help us in determining their exact functions.

Professor Monier Williams explains *Mahattara* as the same as *Grāmakūṭaka*, the headman or the eldest man of the village.⁵ But the *Grāmakūṭakas* are evidently referred to in the above lists as distinct from the *Mahattaras*.

Customs Officials.

Besides the executive officers mentioned above, there were the customs officials in charge of various customs and taxes. They were generally known by the designation, *Suṅkaveggaḍe*, the manager of the customs department. The most important customs duties were the *vaddarāvula*, the *perjjuṅka* and the two *bilkodes*. The manager in charge

(1) *Rice, Inscriptions*, No. 6. (2) *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, p. 18.

(3) *Ep. Car.* XI, Dg. 1. (4) *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 145.

(5) *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, p. 18 See note 97.

of the *vaddarāvula* was known as the *Vadda-rāvula-perggade*.¹ The executive officers in many cases were invested with the additional power to collect certain taxes. Thus the mahāpradhāna Bānasaverggade Daṇḍanāyaka Anantapāluyya also styled Mahāsāmantādhipati who was ruling the Belvola and the Puligere in A. D. 1100-1101 was also managing the *vaddarāvula* and the *perjjuṅka* taxes along with the *pannāya* tax of the whole country.² Similarly, the Mahāpradhāna and Daṇḍanāyaka Bhivanayya, who in A. D. 1102-1103 was governing the Palasige, was managing the *Pannāya* tax.³ The officers in charge of customs department are recorded to have been transferred to the executive posts. To cite only one instance, the officer Govindarasa, who was managing the *vaddarāvula*, the two *bilkode* and the *perjjuṅka* taxes in A. D. 1102-1103 was subsequently promoted to the office of Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, Mahāsāmantādhipati and Mahāpradhāna in A. D. 1114-1115 and was appointed the governor of Banavāsi province.⁴

Many Functions in One Person.

One peculiar feature of the Cālukyan polity was that, in many cases, efficient officials were given the charge of more than one department. Thus a certain Bammanayya, who was the governor of Sindravāḍi is recorded to have been the Mahāpradhāna, the Kaḍitaverggade, the Kannaḍa-sandhivigrahin, the Manevarggade and the Hiriya-daṇḍanāyaka at the one and the same time.⁵ Similarly, another person was holding the offices of the high minister, the superintendent of the guards of the female apartments the minister for peace and war for the Karnāṭaka, the general of the army, the Bānasaverggade and the Daṇḍanāyaka.⁶ Again a certain Bammarasa is mentioned as ad-

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Nr. 30.

(2) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 451.

(3) *Ibid.*

(5) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1916, B. 503.

(4) *Ibid.*

(6) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, 86, 170

ministering the *paṇḍaya* tax of Nolambavāḍi as an Accupannāyada-adhistāyaka, besides being the Mahāsāmantādhipati, the Mahāpradhāna, the Bānasaveraggade and the Daṇḍanāyaka.¹ From an inscription of 1113 A. D., we learn that one Mahādēva, in addition to being a Daṇḍanāyaka, held also the offices of Mahāpradhāna Kannada Sandhi-vigrahi and Maneverggade, and also had the title of Mahāsāmantādhipati?²

Selection and Qualifications of Officers.

The chapter on administration will remain incomplete without a reference to the qualifications and selection of officers to the various posts mentioned above. The selection was governed partly by hereditary and partly by educational considerations. Many of the offices were transmitted from sire to the son. To cite only one instance, a certain Appana is described a Śrīkaraṇāgrāṇi, the chief of the scribes.³ The epithet Śrīkaraṇāgrāṇya is also applied to his eldest son who is mentioned as the head accountant of Kārtavīrya IV Ratta.⁴ But the officers were generally selected for their educational qualifications. It has been expressly stated in one place that Ravidēva obtained the office of Lāla-sandhi-vigrahin from the king, "having gained his approval by the splendour of his vast learning."⁵ The numerous epigraphical passages which highly speak of the educational and cultural attainments of many officials bear eloquent testimony to the fact that appointments were based on necessary academic qualifications. Study of politics was considered necessary in the case of high officers. The Mahāpradhāna Malappayya is stated to have been a "mine of the gems of polity"⁶ Another administrative official was "possessed of the three powers of lordship, counsel and enterprise".⁷ It

(1) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 452.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 57.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 17.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 287.

(6) *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 57.

(7) *Ibid.*, XV, p. 85.

is recorded that the Mane-verggaḍe Daṇḍanāyaka Guṇḍamayya was a Cāṇakya in the science of politics.¹ A true minister was a vision of the lore of state craft, says a Ratta inscription.² We know from the Kannaḍa literature of the period how distinguished scholars like Nāgavarma II were used to be appointed to responsible posts³. Military officers in many cases owed their higher appointments and titles to distinguished service rendered by them on the battle field.⁴

The officers were expected to lead a moral life. They are often described as sons to others' wives and brothers to public women.⁵ The average officer of our period was highly attached to his master. Loyalty was considered a great virtue. The officials are said to have been loyal and devoted. Thus a certain Nāgavarma is stated to have been a very *garuḍa* in devotion to the welfare of his lord.⁶

It was a feature of ancient Hindu polity to test the virtue of officials in the fire of temptation. An inscription of our period supplies us with an actual instance of this practice. We are told that the Lāṭa-sandhi-vigrahaṇi Ravidēva showed his uprightness under test.⁷

Honours.

The emperor granted titles to distinguished officers and Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras. The highest privilege of the government servants seems to have been that of being authorised to use the insignia of royalty.⁸ A certain Sāmantādhipati obtained the title *Munnirivan* or the slayer in front or in the van from Jayasimha, the Cālukya Emperor⁹.

(1) *Mysore Arch. Dept. Report for 1928*, p. 69.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, pp. 24-25.

(3) *Narasimhaacharya Karnāṭaka Kavi Charite*, I, p. 144.

(4) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sb, 184.

(5) *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 51.

(6) *Ibid.*, XII, p. 289.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 271.

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 281.

(9) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sb, 184.

As regards the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras, Vijaya Paṇḍya of Uccaṅgi received the honourable name Jagadēkamalla¹ for his breaking down the pride of mighty enemies. A grant of A. D. 1112 states that the emperor, who was greatly pleased with the valour shown by his feudatory chief Bommaya in a battle, conferred on him several titles of honours and presented him with a palanquin, an umbrella, and an escort of 50 cavaliers, and 1,000 foot-soldiers and granted to him a village.² Again it is recorded that a feudatory chief Kiriya Bamma received at the hands of Āhavamalla the title of *Gaṇḍa-talaprahāri* (the slapper on the cheek) and the title *Doddaṅka-badivan*, the smiter in great wars.³ The same inscription further mentions that another feudatory chieftain gained the title *Sitagara-gaṇḍa*, the champion over adulterers.

The practice was followed by the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras in the case of their officials. Thus for example, the chief minister of Vijaya Paṇḍya of Uccaṅgi is said to have received the title of *Kumāra* (prince) from his master as a reward for his unbounded fidelity⁴.

(1) *Ibid.*, XI, Dg. 41.

(2) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1925=26, p. 93.

(3) *Ep., Car.*, VI, Kd. 30.

(4) *Ibid.* XI, Dg. 32.

CHAPTER II.

LOCAL ORGANISATION.

Having described the features of general administration, let us now proceed to consider the Local Organisation. A number of inscriptions furnish us with necessary information. Karnāṭaka like the rest of India has been essentially agricultural in occupation from very ancient times. Hence it was the village that played the most important part in moulding the political and corporate life of the people. It is true that there existed some flourishing towns; but such towns were scarce. Moreover, the constitution of the city-organisation was not very different from that of the village. The principles of local government were the same both in towns and villages. In fact the village constitution was enlarged so as to suit the slightly altered conditions of city-life. Thus to speak of local organisation in ancient Karnāṭaka is nothing but to describe the village administration.

Condition of villages.

Inscriptions give us graphic descriptions of many villages and speak in high praise of them. Thus, a Sinda inscription gives the following account of the village Narayaṅgal, that is, modern Naregal :

“ Very lovely it is with its flower gardens which diffuse many divine odours, with its cool tanks which confer the most exquisite pleasures, with its numberless groves, and with its rice and other juicy grains, the fragrance of which pervades the regions ”.¹

Similar is the description of Abbalūru or modern Ablūr. It was “ truly charming on the face of the earth, in a most

(1) *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XI, p. 237.

exceedingly beautiful manner, by reason of a park which was pleasing with flights of parrots and numbers of cuckoos, by the sweet smelling rice that was growing luxuriently."¹

Again, the village Itṭige, under the rule of the Sindas of Yelburgā, is described thus: "Dancing peacocks, singing bees, swans walking about, cock-cuckoos warbling the *pañcama* note, rose-ringed parrots prating exactly as some persons have previously spoken, lovers entering the groves of creeping-plants when the Bow of Flowers is at work, vibrating without being able to exhaust its delight, are found in this park".²

An inscription at Hūli, included in the domain of the Rattas, gives us a typical account of the place:

"Being encompassed by lines of swaying lotuses, by pleasantries of jasmine rich in perfume indeed, and with a profusion of splendour of appropriate pools and wells, radiant with the brilliance of many pinnacles on thousands of charming sanctuaries of Śiva, wherein men find delight having worshipful majesty in the exterior thereof, thus does the blessed Pūli display itself."³

Even making allowance for poetic fancy and exaggeration, it is evident that villages in ancient Karnāṭaka were in a prosperous condition. Water-supply was abundant as the inscriptions testify to the existence of a large number of tanks. Every village had its own park where the people could meet at leisure.

The village was known by different names such as Ūru, Kēri, Kallu, Biḍu, Haḷḷi and was a self-contained unit of administration. When the village was too large in area, it was divided usually into two parts for administrative convenience. Thus for example, Narayaṅgal proper was differ-

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 364.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 53.

(3) *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 187.

entiated from Narayaṅgal the Small (Kīru). Similarly Bellumbatti contained two sections.¹ It is well-known that the University-town Balligāve was divided into Kiriya (small) Balligāve and Hiriya (big) Balligāve. The expressions Kiriya and Hiriya undoubtedly indicate that one of the two divisions was smaller than the other either in area or in population. The smaller unit was perhaps the later addition necessitated by the increase in population. It was something like a suburb to the original village. But it should not be supposed that the suburb was always smaller when compared to the 'bigger' division. It may be that in course of time the smaller division had grown into a big village, bigger than the original one.

The Village Population.

Coming to village population, we find that it was made up of diverse castes, based more or less on the principle of occupations. The primary occupation was, of course, agriculture and the majority of the inhabitants naturally belonged to the tiller's class. But mere agriculture could not make the village economically independent and a self-contained unit. Cottage industry flourished side by side. Different people took to different industries and the whole population came to be divided into occupational or functional groups. These groups in course of time became hereditary and consequently assumed the status of separate castes. The caste system seems to have been so highly organised on industrial bases that powerful guilds came to be formed of which we shall speak later on. It is suffice to say that these organisations were communal in character.

Each profession had separate wards for residential purposes in the village area. For example, an inscription from Yevūr refers to separate wards set apart for Brāhmanas.² Similarly, we are told that there were separate quarters for

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, XII., p. 290.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 290.

barbers and washermen.¹ The dancing girls and god's servants were provided with dwellings usually near the temples.² It is further needless to say that the untouchables, who served as scavengers, were not allowed to dwell anywhere except on the outskirts of the village. Inscriptions make frequent references to various professions that contributed to the making up of the great village community, "a system which is regarded as something unique by the modern political theorists".³ The following were the important units of service that made up the village economy :

- (1) Gauḍa or Redḍi, the village headman.
- (2) Karaṇam, the accountant.
- (3) Purōhita, the religious guide.
- (4) Kammāra, the blacksmith.
- (5) Vadrāgi, the carpenter.
- (6) Akkasālī, the goldsmith.
- (7) Sarābu, the cashkeeper.
- (8) Taḷavāra, the village police.
- (9) Kammāra, the potter.
- (10) The washerman.
- (11) The barber.
- (12) Bārika, the menial servant.
- (13) The hunter.
- (14) The oil-dealer.
- (15) The brazier.
- (16) The shoe-maker.
- (17) The maker of weapons.
- (18) Cāṇḍalas or scavengers.⁴

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 8.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 58.

(3) *Dikshitar, Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, p. 223.

(4) *Ind. Ant.*, XLV, p. 55; *South Ind. Ep.*, 1920-21.

The traditional number of professional castes was eighteen, which seems to have increased by the time of the Cālukyas. We get a larger number of them in inscriptions. Nevertheless, the idea that the original number was eighteen was not forgotten in the twelfth century Karnāṭaka. The Liṅgāyat reformers of the period refer to it in their *vachanas* and exhort the people to abolish the whole system, which according to them, was conducive to the raising of innumerable social barriers among the masses.¹

So much about the village of the usual type. Besides, we had a few villages entirely inhabited by the Brāhmanas. These were called Brahmapuris. It is highly probable that many of them were only suburbs of big towns. For we are told that there were three such Brahmapuris in the town of Belligāme.² The aims and objects of the Brahmapuris will be discussed in detail in the chapter on education.

The Village Assembly.

As we have already remarked, the village was the unit of administration. Some villages were managed by an assembly which represented its inhabitants. The function of the assembly was manifold. It maintained the public institutions such as the temples, and looked after the village tanks and other irrigational works. The number of members of the assembly varied according to the population and size of the village. An inscription of A. D. 1080 mentions that the village corporation was constituted by more than five hundred prominent citizens including the gardeners of that place.³ The village Muṇḍunr was blessed with an assembly of five hundred,⁴ whereas Bharatpūr had only two hundred elders to look after its affairs.⁵ The Raṭṭa royal city of Vēṇugrāme had an assembly of as many as

(1) Halakatti, *Vachanasastrasara*, Vol. I, p. 363.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, 86, 277. (3) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1926, No. C. 464.

(4) *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 307. (5) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1927-28, No., E. 28.

four thousand Mahājanas,¹ in contrast to a certain small village possessing only eighty-four elders.² The Brāhmaṇa members were known as Mahājanas and the Vaiśhyas were called Nakharas. The members of other communities had no such specific names. The elders generally assembled under a big tree or in the local temple. Big villages could afford to have Sabhāmaṇḍups where the assembly could meet.³ The assembly had its own headman to preside over its deliberations.⁴ The Mahājanas were a learned body. A number of inscriptions speak in high praise of them. Thus an inscription describes the qualities of the Mahājanas of a certain place in the following terms:—
 “The earth extols the Thousand as being men of abounding (good) conduct, seats of incalculable merit, uniquely worshipful to the world, skilled in arts, having fame like autumnal clouds, celestial trees to the companies of cultured and agreeable men, ravishing the powers of haughty foes, bees to the lotus feet of the god Kēśavāditya”⁵.

The Mahājanas.

Mahājanas seem to have wielded considerable influence not only with the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras, but even at the imperial court. An epigraph of Vikramāditya VI registers that at the request of the Mahājanas of Mengōla, queen Padmāvatidēvi, who was enjoying that village as her *jāgīr*, granted some land, free of taxes, to a temple⁶. It is also recorded that when Vikramāditya was encamped at Gōvinda-vāḍi, he granted the village of Kōṭiganūru to the temple of Kalidēva of Poovinapadaḡilī, at the request of the Mahājanas of that village who went on a deputation to the king.⁷ Moreover, the king and the feudatories consulted the village

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 25.

(2) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1927-28, No., E. 8.

(3) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1927-28., No., E. 8.

(4) *Ibid.* (5) *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 195.

(6) *South Ind., Ep.*, 1914, No. 122. (7) *Ibid.*, No. 127.

representatives in important local matters affecting the village. We are told that a certain Gaṅga feudatory, after consulting the village Gāvunḍa and the representatives, gave an order to increase the area of a certain tank and made for it a grant of land¹.

One of the main functions of the Mahājanas was to manage the temples. They were generally appointed as trustees of public charities. We learn from an epigraphical record that a grant of land was made to the god Kallidēva by a certain Rācappa and the field granted was placed in the charge of the Mahājanas². Similarly, another plot of land granted to the same temple by one Nāgappa was entrusted to the care of the same body³. Again, a grant of land to a certain god Varadarāja was placed under the management of the village elders including the accountant.⁴ We can cite many more examples, but we think that these are enough to convince any reader.

We have stated above that the local assemblies existed only in some villages. Mr. Altekar rightly points out that the regular village assembly was a peculiarly Dravidian institution.⁵ He further proves, with the help of epigraphical evidence, that this institution was fully developed in the Tamil country and in the southern Karnāṭaka, partially developed in the central Karnāṭaka, (where the Aryan influence was partly felt) and practically non-existent in the extreme northern part of the province. Thus we find that in the territory of the Sindas of Belagutti, Sindas of Kurgōḍ, the Sēnāvaras, the Pāṇdyas and the Guttas, and to a certain extent in the Kūṇḍi division of the Raṭṭas, the village assembly was a popular feature of local administration.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sb., 132.

(2) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1924, p. 49.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 88.

(4) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1924, p. 28.

(5) Altekar, *The History of village communities in Western India.*, p. 28.

The Gāvunḍa.

The one common feature of every village in ancient Karnāṭaka was that it had its headman called Gāvunḍa, Gāmunḍa or Gauḍa who seems to have been invested with executive and judicial powers. But his powers were considerably limited in those villages that were blessed with an assembly. The Gāvunḍa was sometimes called as Ūra-Oḍeya. He put down all disorder and maintained public peace in his jurisdiction. When required, he organised petty forces or local militia.¹ The office of the Gāvunḍa was hereditary; but there is reason to believe that it was transferred to members of other families in cases of inefficiency.

It is interesting to note that some villages had more than one Gāvunḍa. For example, it is recorded that the local administration of Sūnḍi was looked after by six Gāvunḍas and eight settlers.² A Raṭṭa inscription informs us that Sugandhavartti had twelve headmen.³ We further learn from the same epigraph that the village of Elavore and the agrahāra of Hasuḍi were each headed by the same number of Gāvunḍas.⁴ Similarly, the municipal affairs of "the great city" of Kundoor (modern Narēndra in Dhārwar district) were managed by as many as sixteen headmen.⁵

This council of the Gāvunḍas in the place of one headman was perhaps necessitated by the largeness of area of some villages and towns. It was not possible for a single Gāvunḍa to discharge his functions efficiently in big towns. Nevertheless, it is to be remembered that this difference in numbers made no remarkable change in the principles underlying local government in ancient times. Sometimes a group

(1) Hayavadana Rao, *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. VI, p. 9.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 76.

(3) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S. X, p. 283.

(4) *Ibid.*, pp. 284, 285.

(5) *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 120.

of hamlets each headed by a Gāvūṇḍa was knit together for administrative convenience and was placed under a chief headman.¹ The Gāvūṇḍa discharged his executive duties by undertaking improvements in the village. This probably included the repair and construction of tanks and channels.² He also looked after the management of temple and other properties entrusted to him as the trustee. A number of inscriptions refer to this function.³ The Sinda record of Bhalranumatti registers a certain grant and concludes with the statement that the six Gāvūṇḍas of that place shall protect this act of piety⁴.

The next important duty of the headman was the collection of revenues in which he was assisted by the accountant, the ancestor of modern Kulkarni. Besides, it was the Gāvūṇḍa who had to put the grievance of his village before the government either by petition or in person. We are told that on an appeal made by the Gāvūṇḍa of a certain village, the Māhapradhāna remitted certain taxes and settled some disputes.⁵ As regards minor cases, it was the Gāvūṇḍa, who was authorised to decide them with the help of the Pañcāyats. In south Kārnāṭaka, where the institution of Grāma-sabhā was prevalent, the assembly members had the predominant share in settling the petty disputes that arose from time to time among the inhabitants. We have the good fortune to possess an inscription which clearly tells us that the Mahājanas and the Gāvūṇḍas of a certain village successfully decided a case involving the distribution of lands below some specified tanks.⁶

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatt and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. X., p. 237.

(2) Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, p. 273.

(3) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatt and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, pp. 283, 284, 285.

(4) *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 236.

(5) *Mys. Arch. Dept.*, 1912-13, p. 40.

(6) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1917, N. B. 759.

The Nāḍa-Gavuṇḍa

Just as every village had the Ūra-gāvuṇḍa, a group of many villages was blessed with a Nāḍa-gāvuṇḍa¹ who is also called as Nāḷa-gāvuṇḍa in many inscriptions. Nāḍa-gāvuṇḍa, as is clear from the term itself, means the headman of the Nāḍu.

The Taḷavāra

The next important officer was the Taḷavāra who was to watch over the safety of the village.² It seems that the village itself contributed to his pay, and the government was in no way burdened for this item of expenditure. Every person owning landed property was bound to subscribe. It is expressly stated in an inscription that a certain plot of land was made an exception to this general rule, and the Taḷavāra consequently was not to take any portion of the produce of that particular garden.³ It, therefore, goes without saying that the watchman was maintained mainly by the agriculturists who paid him in kind.

The General Assembly.

Our account of local organisation is not complete without any reference to general assemblies which met on important occasions for settling important matters. Thus we learn from an inscription that the citizens of Hosahadāṅgile, having met together, agreed among themselves to give certain lands to the temple of Mahādēva of Bennevūru.⁴ Further, an epigraph of A. D. 1094 informs us that "the whole town uniting" made grants of dues (as specified) for the service and decoration of the god, for repairs of the temple, and for gifts of food to the students and ascetics.⁵ Similarly, a Belagāmi inscription records that

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 444.

(2) *South Ind., Ep.*, 1914, No. 231.

(3) *South Ind., Ep.*, 1927-28, No. E 73.

(4) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1915, No. 499.

(5) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 94.

a certain grant was made to a temple by two brother sculptors, when Mebi Śeṭṭi, Kīrti Śeṭṭi and others with all the "people of the town" (ಸರ್ವ ಜನಂಗಳು) and the five mathas, as well as their own house people were present¹. In this great democratic assembly of the town Balligāve the various guilds made contributions to the same temple. It is further interesting to note that one *paṇa* for every wedding among them was contributed. Inscriptions also tell us that whenever a member of the community did a public work calculated to confer benefits on the whole village, his services were rewarded by the general assembly which granted him a plot of land.² The general assembly also made grants of gifts in favour of the wife and children of heroes who lost their lives in the act of defending their village against robbers and enemies; and many a time their services were commemorated by setting up *viragallus* or hero-slabs. It is further pleasing to note that important economic questions concerning the village attracted the people to a common platform to discuss the proposals. Thus, we are told that the *prabhus* and all the inhabitants of Mōgūru met together and agreed among themselves to turn their village into a town and to establish a weekly market (*sante*).³ They eventually came to an understanding that those who build houses in the new town would be exempted from the payment of taxes during the first year, and in the case of outsiders the exemption would be continued for a period of two years. This may be taken as a typical instance, revealing the vast powers enjoyed by the democratic local assemblies in ancient Karnāṭaka.

The Mahānāḍu.

For settling extraordinary matters affecting common interests of many hamlets, it was necessary to call a joint meeting of all the villages concerned. This great assembly

(1) Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 135.

(2) Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, p. 273.

(3) *Mys. Arch. Dept.*, 1911-12, p. 45.

was known as Mahānāḍu.¹ We do not know whether all the male adult members of the Nāḍu or district attended this gathering. As some of the districts were too extensive containing a large number of villages, it was practically impossible for all the inhabitants to be present at this assembly. We may, therefore, safely presume that a chosen few from each village, including the elders, were deputed to represent the population of their constituency. Anyhow, we have definite epigraphical evidence to show that the Mahānāḍu contained among others *heggaḷes* and *sāmantas*.² Every important corporation in the district was represented in this great assembly. This is clear from a Gutta inscription which states that the five Swamis of Ayyahole, the *nānādēsis*, the *śeṭṭis* having assembled in the Mahānāḍu, made some grants.³ Further, a Raṭṭa record informs us that the merchants of four towns convened themselves together into a great assembly (ನಾಲ್ಕು ಪಟ್ಟಣದ ಸೆಟ್ಟಿಯರು ಮಹಾನಾಡಾಗಿ ಸೇರಿದಿರ್ದಲ್ಲಿ) and set apart certain contributions for religious purposes.⁴

The Growth of Public Life

The growth of public institutions in a country indicates the regularly organised life of the people. It is, therefore, proper in this place to consider the subject of local organisation in this particular aspect. We have already referred to the existence of temples where meetings of the local assembly were held. In fact, the temple in ancient Karnāṭaka was the centre of corporate activity.

There is ample evidence to show that the temple was a public institution maintained by the local government with the help of private charities. There is also reason to believe

(1) *South Ind. Ep.* 1918, B 209.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*, 1919, No. 216.

(4) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 283.

that there existed a temple committee in some villages especially in the southern parts of the province. For we definitely know from an inscription that a body, consisting of twenty-four persons, was to be responsible for the proper management of the temple lands, and that it was to measure out paddy for the expenses of the temple.¹ These twenty-four persons were undoubtedly the members of the temple committee. But in the extreme north, where the Dravidian institution of the local assembly was unknown, the Gāvuṇḍa was entrusted to the care of temple-charities.² Besides, he was a trustee for all public charities and received deposits of money or land under conditions to provide, out of their interest, the things stipulated by the donors. Whenever a grant to a temple was made by an individual, it was usually under certain conditions which even the assembly or the Gāvuṇḍa could not easily violate. It was the duty of local government to see that public charities were properly administered.

The village elders and the headman enjoyed vast powers with regard to the management of temples. It is expressly stated in a record that if any of the ascetics staying in the monastery would not observe strict celibacy, "the villagers, the burghers, and the king, in concert," shall expel him at the very instant.³ Another inscription says: "Out of the revenues of this land they shall provide food and clothing for the five ascetics living in celibacy. In the case of any superiors of this place, if there should be committed a breach of celibacy or the like in conducting the highest offices, they shall expel them. The leading men shall be such. They shall preserve this pious foundation, under the constitution".⁴

(1) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1920, No., C. 477.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 236.

(3) *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 290.

(4) *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 10.

The donors of benefactions appear to have been particular as to the way in which the charity would be spent. Hence we come across a good many grants which lay down the manner of how they should be utilized.

Merchant Guilds

Coming to corporate life led by the people, we find it so active that extensive guilds came to be organised throughout the length and breadth of the province. The Belgaum inscription of 1204 A. D.¹ refers to a number of mercantile corporations and guilds, and the Nidagundi inscription of Vikramāditya VI² and Tailapa II refers to an organisation of 505 merchants making various grants, in kind, for religious purposes. According to an epigraph of the emperor Jagadēkamalla II,³ Ayyavole (modern Aihole) was the residence of five-hundred merchants. This corporate body is very frequently referred to in many records. Thus we learn from an inscription that the five hundred *Svāmis* of Ayyahole, the Nānādēsis, the Śeṭṭis etc., having assembled granted a tax for the worship of a certain god.⁴ Again an inscription from Yēvūr dated 1079 A. D. records that a sum of money was deposited with the collective body of mercants of Śivapūr at the interest of 25 per cent. out of which they were to maintain an offering.⁵ A record from Balligāve supplies a long eulogy of these merchants, and states that they were heroes, born to wander over many countries ever since the beginning of the Kṛtayuga, penetrating regions of the six continents by land and water routes and dealing in various articles such as houses, elephants, precious stones, perfumes and drugs either wholesale or retail.⁶

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 18.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 12.

(3) *South Ind.*, *Ep.*, 1915, p. 48, No., 478.

(4) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1919, p. 18, No. 216.

(5) *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 273.

(6) *Ep., Car.*, VII, Sk., 118.

It seems that the rules of these organisations were very strictly followed by members of the community. An inscription proudly states that "by preserving the *virabalanja*-laws, which embraced truth and pure conduct and brilliant achievements and morality and modesty," the guild extended its organisation over eighty cities, the head-quarters being located at Ayyahole.¹ It is worthy of note that the mayor of this great corporation was one Hanumanta Śeṭṭi who is called as *Paṭṭana-Swāmi*.² Moreover, these organisations were not confined to any one particular class of merchants. In fact, every profession worth the name had its own constitution. Thus, an epigraph found at Belgāmve mentions some guilds formed by the sellers of betel leaves and areca nuts, by dealers in oil, by palanquin-bearers and by cultivators.³ Similarly, there were separate craft guilds of stone cutters, braziers, carpenters, blacksmiths, gold-smiths, weavers, potters, fruit-merchants and of clothiers.⁴

These guilds were so rich, extensive and perfect in their organisation and popular among the people that unless we quote in full the description of such a guild, the readers will not be able to have a correct idea about them. We therefore select the typical corporation of Dharmavoḷal, modern Dambal in the Dhārwar district. The description runs as follows: "The sixteen Śeṭṭis of the city of Dharmavoḷal, constituting the large assembly of the town, being the assembly of the people living in many countries, who were endowed with truth and purificatory observances and pleasing conduct and morality and modesty adorned with innumerable good qualities acquired by five-hundred strict edicts celebrated over the whole world; who were the protectors of the *Virabalanja* religion.....constituted 32 sea-towns and 18 cities and 64 Yōgapīṭhas and colleges at the four points of the compass; who were born to those who belonged to many different countries.....who

(1) *Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 344.(2) *Ibid.*(3) *Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 345.(4) *Moræes, Kadamba Kula*, p. 285.

were the lords of Ayyahole which is the best of cities¹". A record of 1139 A. D. presents us a beautiful picture of the corporate life led by the town and village people in ancient times. We are therefore tempted to quote it below :

"These two, Bāvaṇa and Rāvaṇa (sculptors), in order to clear an aspersion on their own race of sculptors, set up an image of the god Kuśavēśvara, and calling together Mebi-Śeṭṭi, Kirti-Śeṭṭi, with all the chief people of the town and the five mathas, along with them presented that temple of the *dēva* (on the date specified) in presence of all the towns people and the five mathas, made for the decorations and offerings of the god a grant of 60 Kamma of rice land (as specified). And Mebi-Śeṭṭi, Kirti-Śeṭṭi and the other chief townsmen, on account of their having been spectators of such a pure work of merit, for the repairs of the temple remitted for ever the land rent of the house which Bāvaṇa occupied. And the fifty families of oilmen granted for the perpetual lamp one *solige* of oil from their mills. And Khēvale Gāvunḍa and all the headmen of the tailors, for the god's Caitra purification festival, granted one *paṇa* a year from each family; and in case of a marriage one *paṇa* from the bridegroom's party and one *paṇa* from the bride's party."²

Democratic Institutions

Inscriptions quoted above evidently prove that the people of ancient Karnāṭaka were a highly civilized race—possessing a system of organisation which, even when compared with the political principles of our own day, may not fall far below the mark. The great principle of democracy was not forgotten, and it seems to have been fully recognised in the working of these corporations. When the inhabitants of a town or village wanted to make contributions to an act of merit

(1) *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 189.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 112.

all the adults (males residing in the town or village) would assemble in the approved place at the appointed hour; and nothing was done without the express consent of those that were present. It is highly pleasing to see that a large number of grants, that have come down to us, were made only at the consent of the citizens of the place. "This much did the whole city, assembling together, bestow".¹ This is how an inscription ends. It may be noted, in this connection, that the people had agreed not only to make the specified grants, but even decided as to how much each had to contribute. Hence the words "this much". Moreover, in the same record we find in detail the voluntary quota to be subscribed by each member of various organizations which are mentioned.

The guilds, we have noted above, were the centres of activity in towns. They celebrated feasts and other religious functions,² and probably made provision for plays and pageants for the entertainment of the citizens. "Finally the guilds formed the most important organ of municipal self-government, for with there was entrusted the money that was granted to temples by kings and other wealthy citizens from the interest of which they had to fulfil the term of their grants."³

The epigraphs referred to above are specially interesting, inasmuch as they clearly manifest the corporate spirit of the people. Throughout the period of our study, local corporations were highly developed and were a distinctive feature of Dravidian India. Referring to these guilds, Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar truly remarks that local corporations had reached a very high state of perfection and were looked upon as part and parcel of the constitution of the country,

(1) *Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 345.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 190.

(3) Moraes, O. C, p. 285.

and were entrusted with the active management of local affairs.¹

Public Spirit

One of the important contributions of this indigenous system of organisation in ancient Karnāṭaka was the infusion of a high degree of public spirit in the citizens. Patriotism was so deep-rooted that in some cases it became a passion leading to extremes. *Viragallu* or hero-stones planted in memory of soldiers who died during conflicts have been found scattered all over south India, especially in the heroic land of Karnāṭaka. What is more, a large number of them show the high sense of honour which the people uniformly entertained for the village patriots and their sacrifices on behalf of the community. Some of the records are quite interesting.

The Hoṭṭūr inscription of A. D. 1007 informs us that a raid was made by robbers upon the oxen belonging to the betel-traders, and the beadle Gojjiga perished in a valiant attempt to save them. In recognition of his courage, "the thousand of the betel-sellers in assembly granted one *visa* for each ox in perpetuity".² According to a Sinda inscription, a certain Gaṭṭēya Nāyaka, with wonderful bravery, attacked the enemies and drove them back. Thereupon "Mallidēvarasa, with all the ministers and Bamma Gāvunḍa, approving of Gaṭṭēya's service, made grants to him."³ Similarly, the Abbalūr stone of about A. D. 1219 in Dhārwar district commemorates the death of the brothers Māca and Gomā fighting valiantly to repel a cattle raid against their village led by the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Īśvara Dēva of Belagavartti.⁴ A *viragallu* from Hūli states that a certain Torpara Buttayya carried out cows belonging to Pūli and thereupon Bōsiga

(1) R. C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 186.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 75.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Hl. 27.

(4) *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 262.

and his messmate and comrade made a brave attempt to recover them, in which both the heroes perished. Each of these heroes has a verse devoted to his praise :

"When the Torapasa making an assault, carried off the cows of Pūli, seeing it, confronted the bowman, smote them, and became brilliant in the city of the Lord of Gods by the high degree of his valour and nobility."¹

"Saying, 'I cannot leave my messmate, my associate, my comrade on the field of battle,' Malliga perished together with Bāsiga by reason of the high degree of his nobility".²

Malliga's devotion to his comrade and his great sacrifice at the altar of his country may look strange to us at this distance of time. But one cannot deny the outstanding fact that men in those times valued ideals more than their lives. This alone is sufficient to make us feel proud of them.

Again a *vīragallu* of A. D. 1172 gives us another piece of interesting information. When Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Śvara Dēvarasa was in the residence of Belagavartti, the king of Sāntāḷige coming by way of raid entered Haṭṭivūr and Soratṭūr and carried off the cows. "Two brothers, seeing it, without holding back, sprang forward, attacked, shot arrows, and like a destruction of Yama, slaying many, captured the archers, drew their daggers, and piercing their horses,—recovered the cows, and gained the world of gods".³ This slab shows that sometimes causes of such heroism were distinctly political in their character. We have many other records to prove this. We are told that when the Pāṇḍya chief with his army carried off all the live cattle of the village Nelivatti, one Caṭṭaya Nāyak, "pursuing after,

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 200.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 200-201.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Hl., 27.

them, driving them off, piercing through the army", recovered the cows and attained the celestial nymphs. Recognising his great services to his country, the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mallidēva, together with various Gāvundās, made grants of land to be continued to Caṭṭaya's descendants.¹ Here the patriotism of the individual has been awarded by the gratitude and abiding appreciation of the king and his community headed by the Gāvundās, which immortalized, by a grant to his coming generations, the memory of a man who gave his life for the motherland. Many inscriptions from the Honnāli Tālukā, ranging over the whole period of our study, illustrate the heroic sacrifices of these village-Hampdens and the grateful appreciation of the villagers concerned. In fact, these records displaying rural patriotism and public spirit are indeed too many to be mentioned here.

These epigraphical references conclusively prove that the system of local organisation served to produce public spirit in the people, which exhibited itself in many forms and did not fail to obtain due recognition at the hands of those it served. Speaking of this sense of public service displayed by ancient Dravidians, Prof. Radhakumud Mookerjee makes some illuminating remarks which deserve to be quoted before concluding this chapter. He says : "The public spirit of the people generally flowed along other and diverse channels. It determined the character of the communal assembly also. Both the assembly as a collective body and the individual members often vied with one another for the promotion of the public good. To the public spirit, patriotism, and religious sense of both parties, the villages owed all the public institutions in which was centred the intellectual and spiritual life of the community".²

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 262.

(2) Radhakumud Mookerjee, *Local Government in Ancient India*, pp. 298, 299.

CHAPTER III

PUBLIC FINANCE

Taxes

As the country was mainly agricultural in occupation, land tax was naturally the principle source of revenue. Land was accurately and systematically measured by means of poles.¹ Stones were set up as boundary marks.² Boundaries of fields were also defined by roads, pathways, highways, tanks, wells and watercourses.³ It was thus easy for the revenue officer to recognise boundaries and collect the tax.

Cultivation was stimulated in various ways. Irrigation received the special attention of both the rulers and the ruled. The country was full of fertile flats of various grains and fruits.⁴ The agricultural prosperity must have increased the revenue of the State.

It seems that the assessment and collection of land tax were regulated according to local conditions of particular districts. Different units of measurement are mentioned in different inscriptions. This clearly shows that officers under each feudatory chief used their own units.

The charge on land was generally one-sixth of the produce, though in some cases it was made one-eighth or one-twelfth as a concession.⁵ The tax depended on the productivity of land.⁶ There was a regular classification of land according to the nature of the soil and the crop grown.⁷

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII Sk, 100 and 120; *Bios, Mysore Inscriptions* pp. 122 and 147, etc.

(2) *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 26, etc. etc.

(3) *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, X, p. 226; *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 31 etc.

(4) *Ep. Car.*, Sa, 109; *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 233 etc.

(5) Shrigondekar, *Manasollasa*, p. 44, Slokas, 163-166.

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 290; XIV, p. 277.

It is important to note that exemptions were given when the produce suffered damages in times of bad harvest.¹

Though land revenue was the mainstay of public finance, other taxes were collected. House tax is mentioned in some inscriptions.² It was perhaps calculated according to the size of the house and the economic status of the people living in them. A family tax called *okkalderu* is mentioned in a Sorab inscription.³ Again, a record refers to certain taxes levied on manure-pit, the oil-mill, and to dues on betel-leaf, areca-nut, pepper, saffron, woman's cloth and cart-loads of paddy.⁴ Cart-tax is also mentioned in one place.⁵ There were taxes to be paid by oil-mongers, weavers and artisans.⁶ As the oil tax is referred to frequently, it would appear that the manufacture of oils was a prominent industry. A Sinda inscription gives us a list of as many as seven kinds of taxes including certain customs dues. They are the artisan's tax, oil-mill tax, partnership tax, the family tax on bullocks, *herjunka*, *koḍavisa*, and *handara-hana*.⁷ Taxes called *daṇḍāya* and *prati-siddāya* are recorded in a Raṭṭa inscription.⁸

That the luxuries were taxed is manifest from a Sikārpur inscription which refers to *kannaḍivāṇa* or a tax on mirrors to be paid by prostitutes, and also to *maduve pandara paṇa* (ಮದುವೆ ಪಂದರ ಪಣ) or a tax on marriage pandals.⁹

Besides these taxes, an elaborate system of levying custom dues existed. The most important dues frequently mentioned are the *perjunka*, *vaiḍḍarāvula*, and the two

(1) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1916, No. B. 548.

(2) *Ep. Car.* VII, Sk. 192.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sb. 299.

(4) *Ep. Car.*, XII, Pg. 43.

(5) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Jl. 9.

(6) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1919, No. B. 207.

(7) *Ep. Car.*, VII Hl.

(8) *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 165.

(9) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 293.

bilkoḍes.¹ They were charged on various commodities such as areca-nuts², drugs, spices, cloths³, horses, musk, saffron, yak-hair, *pañcavanige*, cus-cus grass, etc.⁴

Public Expenditure

Coming to the items of expenditure, the first was the establishment of the royal capital and the personal expenses of the royal family. From the glowing descriptions of capital-towns of the various Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras, it would appear that the ancient Kannaḍa kings spent a considerable sum of money in beautifying their places of residence.

The largest part of the revenue was spent on the state expenses connected with the administration of the country. In many cases, officers were assigned rent-free lands instead of being paid periodically.

Thirdly, the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras were culturally bound to patronise poets, artists and men of letters by liberal donations. It is said that the Sinda chief Cāvunḍa II "bestowed gold in abundance upon excellent learned men and good poets, and worthy people."⁵ Permāḍidēva I was the "support of all learned men" and was "a very Ravi-nandana (Karṇa) in respect of his complete liberality."⁶ The Raṭṭa chieftain Kārtavīrya IV was perfect in the possession of a *Saptāṅga* which consisted of a learned man, herald, songster, poet, jester, historian, and the reader of the Purāṇas.⁷ It is a well-known fact that a large number of our

(1) *Ep. Car.* VII, Sk. 110 and 192.

(2) *South Ind., Ep.*, 1915, No. 480 ; No. 476.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Cd, 21.

(4) *South Ind., Ep.* 1917, No. C. 16.

(5) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavansa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 271.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 245.

(7) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S. p. 253.

Kannada poets were liberally patronised by kings who were thus indirectly responsible for creating a rich and extensive literature of which every Kannadiga feels justly proud.

Another head of expenditure was that of public works. The chiefs and their officers used to build magnificent temples and endow them with land and wealth. The Kalhōli inscription tells us that the king Rājā, a feudatory of the Raṭṭas, erected a temple, "adorned with golden pinnacles and arched portals fashioned like a sea-monster."¹ Similarly, another officer of the Raṭṭas built a shrine "which was as it were the jewelled diadem on the lovely woman earth."² Inscriptional references to the erection of such temples are indeed too many to be mentioned here.

The government not only endowed land to temples, but often invested temple authorities with rights to enjoy certain specified taxes.³ Thus, we are told that one Baladēva⁴ the supervisor of taxes at Kuṇṭige and Rājavūru, granted the *pannāya* tax to the temple of Mūlsthānadēva for the purpose of worship and offerings.⁵ Many inscriptions record nothing but grants of taxes to various temples.

The beautiful carvings and the finished excellence of many of these temples imply enormous expenditure from the government treasury. The state was right in constructing and maintaining these wonderful structures because they proved to be of great benefit to our ancients as their religious, cultural and social institutions.

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 253.

(2) Fleet, *Inscriptions relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S. X, p. 255.

(3) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1916, B, 505; 1915, No. 476; No. 480; 1927-28, No. E. 24, *Mys. Arch. Dept. Report* 1923, p. 40 etc.

(4) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1927-1928, No. E. 24.

Lastly, the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras and their overlords must have spent a considerable part of their income in maintaining a standing army consisted of cavalry, infantry and elephants. We are told that, when the Hoysala monarch marched against the league formed by the various kings including the Sindas of Yolburga and the Sindas of Kurugōḍu, he had in his army 12,000 cavalry and 200,000 infantry.¹ From these figures an idea of the size of the armies of that period can be formed.

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg, 35.

CHAPTER IV

COINS, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Coins

We got some useful information from inscriptions about coins, weights and measures that were current in the Cālukyan Empire.¹

Gadyāṇa, which was perhaps the highest coin, is mentioned in many records. An inscription from Ittīge further informs us that it was made of gold.² We are told that a sum of 120 *gadyāṇas* was entrusted to the body of 400 *Mahājanas* of the Ittīge Agrahāra for which they had to pay interest at the rate of one *paṇa* per gold piece annually. The record further tells us that the *Mahājanas* were to deduct twelve *gadyāṇas* of annual interest on this gold, and regularly pay it to the teachers every year. It is thus clear that the interest on 120 *gadyāṇas* was twelve *gadyāṇas*. As the rate of interest was one *paṇa* per *gadyāṇa*, the sum total of the annual interest must amount to 120 *paṇas*. As stated above, these 120 *paṇas* were held equivalent to 12 *gadyāṇas*. Thus, we arrive at the definite conclusion that ten *paṇas* made one *gadyāṇa*. This relation between the *gadyāṇa* and the *paṇa* is to a certain extent corroborated by another inscription which expressly states that more than five *paṇas* made one *gadyāṇa*.³

A Sikārpur inscription refers to other coins called *visa* and *hāga*, besides *paṇa*.⁴ Again the Nēsarige inscription of Kārtavīrya IV mentions a coin called *honnu*, in addition to

(1) *Mysore Arch. Dept.*, Report 1912-1913, p. 39; *South Ind. Ep.*, 1916, No. B. 518.

(2) *Ep. Ind.* XIII, p. 58.

(3) *Mys. Arch. Dept.*, 1912-13, p. 39.

(4) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 118.

visa and *arevisa*.¹ According to Dr. Fleet, *honnu* is equivalent to the value of two rupees and the *visa* is one-fourth of an *anna*.² It is needless to state that the *arevisa* is a half of a *visa*, as *are* in Kannada means half.

As regards the value of the *hāga*, we cannot determine it in the light of the available material.

We hear of another coin called *kāgiṇi* in the grant of Sinda king Permādi-dēva I.³ *Kāgiṇi* is the corrupt form of *kākiṇi* and is equal to forty cowries or a quarter of a *paṇa*. As the relation between the *paṇa* and the *gadyāṇa* has been already settled, it must be said that forty *kāgiṇis* made one *gadyāṇa*. It should be noted that the *paṇa* is a gold coin equal to very nearly 220 grains Troy.⁴

Measures

It appears that grain such as rice, *rāgi* etc., and liquids such as oil, ghee and curds were sold by measures. The Kālholi inscription of Kūrtavīrya IV mentions some grain measures namely the *maṇa*, *baḷla*, *sollige*, and *hūḍaru*. Except the last, all the measures are current even to this day.

The *maṇa* as it stands to-day is equal to sixteen seers and one-eighth part of a *hēru*. But as regards its old meaning, the inscriptions fail to give us its exact capacity. *Baḷla* is equivalent to two seers. *Sollige* which is also called *solige*, *solage*, or *solege*, is the one-fourth of a *sidde*. And such six *siddes* make one *Koḷaga*. The *solage*, the *sidde* and the *koḷaga* are all used in the North Kanara district even to-day.

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions, Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S. X. pp. 258-59.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains* J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 257.

(4) *Ibid.*, Foot notes.

(5) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 238.

As regards *hāḷaru*, Dr. Fleet thinks that it was perhaps the same as the *koḷaga*.¹

The *koḷaga* is referred to in the Nēsarigo inscription of Kērtavīrya IV.² The fact that it also occurs in many other inscriptions representing all parts of Karnataka³ indicates that it was a standard measure commonly used. *Koḷaga* is a grain measure which is equal to one-twentieth part of a *khaṇḍaga*, which appears in a number of records.⁴ This is the same as the modern *khaṇḍaga* in Kannaḍa and the *khāṇḍi* in Koṅkaṇi and Murāthi.

A small measure called *paḷi*, which is almost equal to half a seer, is referred to in one place.⁵ To-day the word *paḷi* is used to denote a handful of grain.

It is interesting to learn that two kinds of *koḷaga* namely *jakki koḷaga* and *dharma koḷaga* were current in those times.⁶ Let it be noted, in this connection, that even to-day the people of North Kanara district use two kinds of *koḷaga*, the *sikke* and the *gēṇi*. It is evident from the various names of the above mentioned measures that many of them have continued to exist to this day in spite of the great political changes that have taken place during these eight hundred years.

The standard measures in ancient times were sometimes called by the names of the ruling kings and queens. For example, there was a measure called *mahādevi* evidently called after a popular queen.

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 238.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 259.

(3) *Mys. Arch. Dept.* 1924, p. 26; Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, No. 6, *South Ind. Ep.*, 1914, p. 16, No. 133.

(4) *Mys. Arch. Dept.* 1928, p. 35 etc.

(5) *Ibid.*, 1927 p. 133.

(6) *Mys. Arch. Dept.*, 1920, p. 32.

As regards land measures, the *nivartana* was current especially in the northern part of the province.¹ It is an ancient measure said to be equal to two hundred square cubits. The other land measure was the *kamma* or the *kamba*,² which was undoubtedly smaller than the *nivartana*. But we do not know the exact relation between the two.

A Raṭṭa inscription from Saundatti states that the king Kuṇṇa gave a portion of land, which was equal to six *mattars* to the local god presiding over the twelve villages.³ The *mattar* is also mentioned in the Honwād inscription among other records.⁴ An epigraph at Bālabīḍu contains the expressions *kamma 50...kamma 50 antu mattarandu..... kamma 60...kamma 40 antu mattarandu*,⁵ which shows that one *mattar* was equal to one hundred *kammās*. Unfortunately, the value of the *kamma* cannot be determined in the light of the available material. It is also interesting to know from a Tālgunda inscription that one *mattar* of land was taken to yield two *khaṇḍikas* or *khaṇḍugas* of grain.⁶

Besides these land measures, there were a number of measuring poles such as the *bheruṇḍa* pole,⁷ the *kaccāve* pole,⁸ the *gaḍimba* pole,⁹ the *agraḍimba* pole,¹⁰ the *kūṇḍi* pole,¹¹ and so on.

- (1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J.B.B.R.A.S., X, p. 199.
- (2) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1915, No. 471 etc.
- (3) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J.B.B.R.A.S., X, p. 199.
- (4) *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 274.
- (5) *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 274, Foot note, quoted by Dr. Fleet.
- (6) Fleet, P. S. and O. C. *Inscriptions*, No. 219, referred to by Dr. Fleet, in the foot note of *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 274.
- (7) *Ep. Car.*, VII, sk. 100 and 120.
- (8) *Ibid.*, 14; Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 147 and 122.
- (9) *South Ind. Ep.* 1927-28, No. E. 67.
- (10) *Ind. Ant.*, IV, p. 279.
- (11) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 32.

CHAPTER V

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Law in ancient Karnataka was customary. The king was not a legislator who could make or unmake laws. In fact there existed no legislature as such. The king simply carried out the decrees sanctioned by the Śāstras and the custom of the land. His function was to administer and not to legislate. Thus the king could not amend or abrogate a custom though it proved to be injurious to the welfare of the society. To use modern nomenclature, he was a constitutional monarch.

In this capacity as the supreme judge, the king himself decided important cases, especially those affecting religion.¹ But the administration of justice on the whole remained in the hands of the officers appointed for that purpose. There were *dharmādhyakṣaṅgals*, and *rājādhyakṣaṅgals* or scrutineers of morality and of judicial affairs.² *Dan-danāyakas* who held both civil and military ranks also dispensed justice.³ Minor matters among the villagers were settled by themselves in the presence of the Gauda.⁴

Crime was rare on account of the precautions taken by the Government. Kings are often described as engaged in punishing the wicked and protecting the good. (*dusṭa nigraha śīlā paripālana*).⁵ "The punitive policy of kings consists in detecting offenders", says a Raṭṭa inscription.⁶ "When Lakṣma (Lakṣmīdeva 1), the lord of earth, was reigning with mighty authority neither

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 244.

(2) Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 170.

(3) *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, IX, p. 308. (4) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1917, No. B, 759.

(5) *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, X, p. 288 etc.

(6) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 23.

offence nor punishment existed, so skilful was he".¹ Kings took personal care to see that justice was properly administered. Thus the Buisa king Śāntivarman, says the record, was careful in judgement as to the right path to be followed and in the investigation of truth.² The officers naturally followed the royal example. For instance, the administrator of the Nēsarige circle (under the Raṭṭas) was a certain Habbaya Nāyaka of whose impartial justice it is said: "Though they might be his friends, or his own people or people whom he disliked or even kings, he behaved impartially to all and caused mankind to say 'Is there any injustice in Habbaya?'"³

There reigned internal peace and order in the country. Crimes of violence were rarely committed. Nevertheless, we must admit the fact that the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras, in spite of their efficient administration, were not completely successful in rooting out the habitual criminals. There were bands of organised robbers – especially in the border districts – whose main occupation was cattle-lifting. A few instances of robbery may suffice.

There is a viragūl commemorating the death of a certain Sivayya who died in fighting with robbers, while going on his way to some place for trading purpose.⁴ This was during the reign of king Tribhuvanamalla. Again a stone of 1167 A. D. commemorates the death of Mādiga, son of a Śeṭṭi at the hands of robbers.⁵ Another of 1185 A. D. records the death of Soviśeṭṭi while fighting with robbers who had attacked the cattle of his village.⁶ Memorial sculptures representing such incidents are found in many.

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 23.

(2) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 209. (3) *Ibid.*, p. 253.

(4) *Mys. Arch. Dept.*, Report for 1928, N., 98.

(5) *Mys. Arch. Dept.*, Report, 1928, p. 90. No. 99.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 79, No. 80.

Inscriptions do not yield sufficient information as to the judicial procedure followed in this period. Nevertheless, we know that cases were often decided by ordeals. According to Brihaspati there were nine kinds of ordeals recognised by ancient Indians from very early times. They are the balance, fire, water, poison, sacred libation, grain of rice, hot gold-piece, plough-share, and the ordeal of Dharma and Adharma.¹

We do not know whether all these ordeals were in use in the courts of Cālukyan Karnataka. Ordeals by boiling water and by mounting the balance are, however, mentioned by an inscription of 1099 A. D.² Similarly, that of heated metal is recorded in an epigraph of about 1100 A. D.³ New types of ordeals, not included to the original list of nine, seemed to have gradually grown up by the end of the tenth century. Thus for example, an inscription of the reign of Sōmēśvara I tells us that a Gāvundā was asked to give up his life by way of an ordeal in order to prove his claim to the land in dispute.⁴ Another curious kind of ordeal by killing a snake in a jar is also referred to in some records.⁵ It is really interesting to learn that the queen Chandrikā Dēvi, the wife of the Raṭṭa chieftain Lakshmi-dēva I, had once successfully undergone this ordeal, for which act she was praised by the people.⁶ Of all the ordeals mentioned above, the balance seems to be the easiest and hence it was probably used in minor cases. It consisted in seeing whether the accused weighed less or more the second time the test was made : if heavier, one was guilty.⁷

Taking the oath was also resorted to in some cases.⁸ The oath should be virtually considered an ordeal inas-

(1) Rapson, *The Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 283.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 360.

(3) *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, IX, p. 308.

(4) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1931, p. 88.

(5) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, 360; *Ind. Ant.*,

XIX, p. 248 and *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 32.

(6) *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 32 and *Ind.*

Ant., XIX, p. 248.

(7) Rapson, *The Cambridge History of India*,

I, p. 284.

(8) *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, IX, p. 308.

much as it invokes divine power which punishes the guilty. It was taken according to the caste and profession to which the man belonged. Thus for example, it is recorded that a Brahmana defendant was asked to swear by the sacred symbols which were then placed on his head for the occasion.¹

Capital punishment was awarded for murder.² Punishments such as fines were common. The gravity of the offence usually decided the nature of punishment. It has been stated that "if one strike with a weapon a thief, robber, burglar, enemy, or evil-minded person under a shop, screen, or veranda there shall be a fine, but no guilt; the fine upon the striker shall be three gold gadyāṇas. If one strikes him with the fingers, the fine shall be... gold gadyāṇas; for him who exceeds... the fine shall be one paṇa; for him who cudgels such as one, the fine shall be two paṇas"³

It is to be noted that the law of vicarious liability, which is to-day so often enforced by the Indian Government, was not commonly recognised in the Cālukyan Empire. For it is expressly stated in one place that "the guilt of a father shall not attach to a son, nor the guilt of a son attach to a father"⁴. This was of course a general principle which knew exceptions.

We have already seen that the Kannaḍa kings had a high sense of justice. They left no stone unturned for punishing the offenders and protecting the innocent. The village headman and the village assembly were invested with judicial powers to try minor cases.⁵ Important mercantile corporations and guilds were allowed to sit in judgment on the members, constituting those organisations.⁶

(1) *Ibid.* (2) *Ep. Car.*, IV, Hg, 18. (3) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 80.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1917, No. B. 750 (6) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 118.

Sometimes the judicial officers such as the *Danḍanāyaka* transferred the case to a body of influential and impartial private tribunal.¹ Above all there was an efficient department of justice composed of highly learned Brahmins well devoted to the study of law. *Mānasollāsa* lays down the qualifications of a judge. It rules thus: He must be a Brahmin well-versed in the *Śāstric* and the *Śruti* lore and capable of their proper interpretation. He must not be carried away by anger, hatred, selfishness or timidity.²

It may be noted, by the way, that the Ayyavale corporation enjoyed the right to punish gamblers found in the city.³

We have the good fortune to possess at least a few inscriptions recording interesting trials, law-suits and legal rules. The following are some of them:

Trial by Ordeal

A certain Sivasakti, the *Āhārya* of *Srī Kālēśvaradeva* of Kittūr, and Kalyāṇasakti, the *Ācārya* of the original local deity of that place, opened a subject of dispute in the presence of *Īśvarayya Danḍanāyaka*, the former asserting that a plot of ground in that place had from old belonged to *Kālēśvaradeva*, while the latter claimed it for the original local deity.

The agreement that they, of their own free will, entered into in the presence of the judge was this:—*Sivaśakti* said "Whereas this plot of ground belonged of old to *Kālēśvaradeva*, the father of *Kalyāṇasakti*, unauthorisedly brought it under cultivation under the *Chānde* state and had a grant written in his own favour, and I am now prepared to undergo the ordeal of heated metal in support of my statement." On the other hand, the argument of *Kalyāṇasakti*,

(1) *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, IX, p. 309.

(2) *Shrigondekar, Manasollasa*, p. 37, Slokas 93 and 94.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 118.

under an oath, was "If the Chānde state gave this plot of ground to my father and to myself on behalf of the deity, it has not been unauthorisedly brought under cultivation."

The judge then said, "Go both of you before the assembly of the bankers of the village Dēgāve;" and on their assenting to this, in the presence of all the bankers, Śivaśakti undergoing the ordeal, made oath that the piece of land belonged from the old to the god Kālēśvara. Kalyānśakti taking the sacred symbol on his head, declared that it was the property of the original local deity. Next day all the bankers convened themselves in the assembly-hall, and having examined the hand of Śivaśakti, decided that he had won the cause and that Kalyānśakti had lost it. Consequently they gave a certificate of success to the plaintiff¹.

Another Trial

An inscription of the reign of Sāmēśvara I records an interesting incident of three *gāvundās*, in consultation with two Brahmins, accusing before the king a certain Guṇḍamayya of having misappropriated their legitimate holding of impudently claiming their village as his own and enjoying the fruits (*Umbaḷi*) for three years. When the matter came up for enquiry, it was proposed that if any one of the three *gāvundās* gave up his life in proof of the allegation, not only his original share would be restored to him but he would also be given extra land with the title to bequeath it to his posterity. Nirjara-gāvunḍa, one of the three, accepted the ordeal and stabbed himself to death, expressing his wish that his son might inherit his entire land. Out of the land so recovered and the land newly earned a *vritti* was given by Nirjara's son to the two Brahmins who originally gave counsel to the three *gāvundās*.²

(1) *J. B. B. R. A. S.* IX, pp. 307-309.

(2) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1921, p. 88.

Relation Between Creditor and Debtor

An inscription of the early thirteenth century reports that a certain Sōmagauḍa borrowed some money from Nāgaṇṇa pledging his *vritti* land and that when he demanded the document of the loan on repaying the debt together with interest Nāgaṇṇa did not return it. Hence in the presence of the *Mahājanas* of the village the discharge of the debt was therein inscribed. The name of the engraver was Sōmanātha.¹

(1) *Mys. Arch. Dept.*, Report for 1924, p. 38.

CHAPTER VI

ART OF WARFARE

The king in ancient times discharged many important functions. He was the head of the administration, the supreme judge in his kingdom and also the commander-in-chief of the army. As in ancient Greece he himself led the host to war. He rode on a big elephant under the canopy of an umbrella with his standard flying. Each Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara had his own banner to distinguish him from others. Thus the Śīndas carried the *nīla-dhvaja* or the blue flag; ¹ the Rāṭṭas had the *Svarṇa-Garuḍadhvaja* or the banner of a golden Garuḍa ²; the Sēnāvaras had the *phapi-dhvaja* or the serpent-flag; ³ the Kadambas carried the *Vānaradvaja* or the banner of a monkey; ⁴ and the Guttas were distinguished by the *Vaṭa-vrikshagaruḍa-dhvaja* or the banner of a sacred fig tree and a Garuḍa combined ⁵. These banners must have exercised a great influence over the fighting forces. The flag was the representative of the entire army; and hence it was a source of high inspiration.

The king was expected to be a man of great strength; and a well-trained soldier. He had to infuse confidence in the army by his personal courage and bravery. He had to devote much of his time and energy in learning the use of weapons. A sort of efficient military education was imparted to him. Thus the Rāṭṭa king Sēna who "was possessed of a mighty army" "was esteemed the first among good warriors and chieftains in the path of war"⁶. Again, king Kaṭṭama was "well acquainted with the use of

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, H1, 50. (2) *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 243.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VI, Cm., 85. (4) *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, IX, p. 296.

(5) *P. S. and O. C. Inscriptions*, No. 108.

(6) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti & Belgaum*, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, X, p. 202.

weapons" ¹. King Sāntivarman was a "very Vatsarāja" says the record, in the act of riding horses ². Teachers were appointed to train the royal youths. We are told that the Jaina preceptor Munichandra Dēva "through his close acquaintance with the treatises on the use of weapons", became the instructor of Lakshmīdēva the Ratta ³. Such was the great importance attached to the art of warfare by the ancient monarchs.

Under the king, who assumed the leadership of the forces, there were many subordinates of different ranks. Next to the king was the Sēnādhipati or the Sēnāpati in rank. He was the most important figure in army organisation. Then came the daṇḍanāyaka who was both a military and civil officer ⁴. The imperial army was often joined by the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara who led his own host to war. The same organisation and the military officers existed under the feudatory chiefs as well.

The accomplishments of the Sēnāpati are enumerated by the Cālukya King Somēśvara in his well-known book *Mānasollāsa*. He says that the commander must be a person born of high family, virtuous, bold and proficient in the four languages. ⁵ The author does not mention what these four languages were. Nevertheless, judging from the times and the country of Somēśvara we may presume that they were Sanskrit, Kannada, Tamil and Telugu. He further states that the commander must be skilful in riding elephants and horses, and well-versed in arms and scriptures. ⁶ He must be one knowing auspicious occasions and omens. He must also be well-versed in the construction of war vehicles and shrewd in judging the quality of different arms of warfare. ⁷ The Sēnāpati must be liberal, sweet-speaking,

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 229. (2) *Ibid.*, p. 208. (3) *Ibid.*, p. 274.

(4) Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 170.

(5) Shrigondēkar, *Mānasollāsa*, p. 37, Sloka, 90. (6) *Ibid.*, Sloka, 90.

(7) *Ibid.*, Sloka, 91.

master of his senses, wise, determined, brave and knowing accurately different types of servants. Such a commander of the army a king must have.¹

As to the composition of the army corps it appears that soldiers were enlisted from various castes. There was no warrior-caste as such in ancient Karnataka. Divergent elements constituted the army. Military organisation seems to have progressed to such an extent that even members of the Brahmana caste were recruited to the ranks. There are distinct mentions of military officers belonging to the Brahmana community.² We are told that the Brahmana general (Camūpati) Gōvinda who was "skilled in arms" was renowned under the title of "Garuda to the serpents of his enemies."³ He was "a lion to the elephant-his adversaries, renowned army warriors, a sun to the lotus-face of heroes" fortune, a troubler of foes, peerless, unequalled in valour".⁴ It is manifest that some members of the priestly class were able to command the forces in an efficient manner.

The army was divided into the traditional four-fold groups mentioned by Kautilya. These were chariots, elephants, horses and foot soldiers.⁵

"The chariot was an important apparatus of war in early times. All the well-known warriors of ancient India, with a few exceptions, were chariot-fighters."⁶ But there is reason to believe that this vehicle had fallen into the background in the Cālukyan times, so far as Karnataka is concerned. Hence it was rarely used. Inscriptions do not speak of them either elaborately or frequently as they do in the case of elephants, cavalry, and foot soldiers. We do not find even a single representation of a chariot in any viṅgal. It

(1) *Ibid.*, Sloka 92.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 287. (3) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 31.

(4) *Ibid.* (5) *Ep. Car.*, VII¹, Sa., 58.

(6) *Dat.*, *The Art of War in Ancient India.*, p. 46.

is true that the author of *Mānasollāsa* mentions the qualities of a true charioteer.¹ But this does not in any way prove that they were a prominent part of the fighting forces. What we maintain is that the chariot did not form an important arm of warfare in this period. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Emperor Harsha, who reigned in the seventh century A. D., had long discarded it as useless in warfare.²

The elephant occupied a prominent position in the army.³ Inscriptions do not generally forget to mention this extraordinary animal whenever a war-scene is described. We have even references to separate commanders of the elephant force.⁴ It is recorded that the Sinda King Permāḍi Dēva I "put to flight the Lord Hoysala" and "seized in war a multitude of infuriated elephants".⁵ The last Rāshtrakūta king possessed an army, consisting of eight-hundred elephants, which was eventually subdued by Taila.⁶ The Cōla emperor Rājendra-dēva who invaded the Karnataka "was accompanied on the battle-field by ten-hundreds of elephants", as an inscription puts it.⁷ The Cālukya monarch must have possessed an equally large number of elephants, if not larger, to meet this opponent.

Mānasollāsa deals with no less than five methods of capturing wild elephants. It also tells us of how to make them fit for war.⁸ The last lesson received by these animals,

(1) Shrigondekar, *Manasollasa*, p. 41. Slokas, 132-133.

(2) Smith, *The Early History of India*, p. 353.

(3) *En. Ind.* XVI, p. 50; *South Ind.* Ep. 1919, No. B. 287; etc.

(4) *South Ind. Ep.* 1919, No. B. 287; *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 50.

(5) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Śindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 270.

(6) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg., 1.

(7) *Mys. Arch-Dept.*, Report, 1928, p. 74.

(8) Shrigondekar, *Manasollasa*, Intro., p. XII.

says Sōmēśvara, was how to destroy the enemy in war.¹ It is to be noted that Vēṇugrāme, the capital of the Raṭṭas, was credited with a big pit-full to catch elephants.²

Figures of elephants can be seen in many viragals. But the best representation of it is craved out in the Begur stone inscription.³ Here the leader of the army is seen riding on a well caparisoned elephant, and before it are three cavalry officers, all on horses.

The cavalry force, the third arm, was the most important constituent in the army organisation. Horses of superior breed were imported from distant Muslim countries such as Arabia, Turkey and Afghanistan.⁴ Mālavā was also known for its "noble horses".⁵ Viragals show that the cavalry soldiers did not wield heavy arms. Either a light, sharp sword or a lance is generally seen in their hands. It seems that the horsemen took a prominent part in close fighting. Being agile they could move swiftly from place to place and thus "accomplish a great deal of work against the foot-soldiers".⁶

Horses were deemed so important in this heroic age that we are told that poet Candrarāja, (about 1079 A. D.) after studying scientifically the subject of horse-breeding, wrote a treatise on it in Kannada⁷. The very fact that he composed it in the vernacular language is a clear indication that the book was very badly wanted by the common folk, ignorant of Sanskrit. Unfortunately the work is not extant.

The fourth arm was the infantry. It consisted of men using various implements of warfare such as swords, daggers, spikes, etc. These weapons were invariably bigger and

(1) *Ibid.* p. 138, Sloka 1194. (2) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 25.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, IX, Bn, 83. (4) *Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 48.

(5) *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 50.

(6) Date, *The Art of War in Ancient India*, p. 45.

(7) Narasimhaacharya, *Karnataka-Kavi-Charita*, I, pp. 89-90.

heavier when compared to those carried by horsemen. Usually the footman wore a broad pointed sword in his right hand and a big round shield in his left. In some sculptres the foot-warriors are seen in different postures such as striking, falling, rising, crouching and so on. They are seen shielding themselves skilfully against the blows of the enemy "in every possible manner, bending, stooping and all but lying down" ¹.

The various weapons in vogue were the sword, the dagger, the bow, the axe, the spike, the mace, the flying discs ² and the lance.

War-music was used to create enthusiasm among the warriors.³ Soldiers marched in the din of *dhakkā*, *bhēri*, *tūrya*, *permatṭi*, and such other musical instruments.

In dealing with the art of warfare, mention must be made of the famous forts which were considered as important means of defence. *Mānasollāsa* has an interesting classification of fortifications, divided under nine names.⁴ It appears that almost every place of some strategical value was covered by an impregnable fortress. There were many hill-forts and forest-forts, surrounded by water and ditches, in the Kūṇḍi province, as stated in the Terdal inscription.⁵ What is said of Kūṇḍi is true of other districts also. Some of the famous forts mentioned in the inscriptions are Īramburaḡe, Kurugōḍu, Hānagal, Gutti, Bellitṭige, Raṭṭapallī, Soratūr,⁶ Banavāse,⁷ Toregallu,⁸ Belagāmi,⁹ Gōkāḡe¹⁰ and Uccangi.¹¹ The last of these, which was in the possession

(1) Hayavadsna Rao, *Mysore Gazetteer*, II, part I, p. 271.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 344.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg., 25. (4) Shrigondekar, *Manusollāsa*, p. 76, Slokas, 541-549. (5) *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 21.

(6) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg., 25. (7) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 152.

(8) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 152. (9) Rlee, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 183.

(10) *Ev. Ind.*, XVII, p. 123. (11) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg., 4.

of the Pāṇḍya chiefs, was perhaps the most impregnable one in the whole of Karnatak. All these fortresses seem to have been strongly built and well equipped. The two types usually mentioned in inscriptions are the hill-forts and the water-forts.¹

Many of these strongholds were of huge dimensions. They were built of black stone not easily scalable. A ditch was dug all round the place to obstruct the passage of the enemy². Forts were rendered more difficult to be scaled on account of their ramparts and bars³. They were fully furnished with all implements of war, and were provided with foodstuffs and fodder. Arrangement for an abundant supply of water was also made within the fortification itself.

The causes that precipitated hostilities among the kings and chiefs were indeed many. The ambitious projects of both the Cālukya and the Cōḷa monarchs to extend their territories and win political power was the basis of many a war fought on the plains of south India. The Mahāmāṇḍaleśvaras often sought for an opportunity to throw the yoke of the Emperor and thus to declare independence. But the Cālukya Emperors skilfully managed to put them in check by sending one feudatory against the other. When the Hoysala and the Kadamba chiefs revolted against their overlord, the Sinda chief Permāḍidēva I was immediately sent against them who were eventually subdued.⁴

Secondly, cattle-lifting was another cause of ancient warfare. The chiefs are often described as leading cattle-raids against their neighbours. This practice became more common during the confusion that arose after the fall of the Cālukyan Empire. A good instance of this is furnished by the Ablūr stone of about 1219 A. D. which records the

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg, 5. (2) *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 123.

(3) *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 35.

(4) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sinlavamsa Chieftains* J. B. E. R. A. S., XI, p. 244.

cattle raid against that village led by Isvaradēva Sinda.¹ Again a *viragal* from Honnāli dated 1173 A. D. reports that the Sāntara chief Singidēva, coming on a cattle raid, entered Haṭṭivūr where he had to fight with the Sinda chief.² Such instances are indeed too many to be mentioned here.

In this connection, it is important to distinguish these historical cattle-raids from the ordinary cattle-lifts committed by robbers in our own day. What is interesting of ancient times is that the chiefs themselves led the raids, thereby offering occasions for open contests.

Among the peculiarities of ancient warfare may be mentioned the part played by women in fights. A brave woman of the ruling class had no scruple to lead the army and display valour. It is well-known that the queen Akkā-dēvi, who is described as "a very Bhairavi in battle and in destroying hostile kings", successfully laid siege to the fort of Gōkāge and quelled the insurrection.³ Similarly a certain Cāgalādēvi, the wife of a Mahāsāmanta is said to have led a campaign against the village Nilagunda⁴. These illustrations only prove how heroic the ancient women of Karnataka were.

Another curiosity of warfare was to plant hero-slabs or *viragals* to commemorate the death of the fallen soldiers. Grants were made by kings and chiefs to the wife and children of the departed hero⁵. "The courage of warriors was stimulated by the belief that their deeds of valour were eagerly watched by the celestial nymphs, who if they fell, would bear them immediately away from the battle-field in a triumphant procession to enjoy the delights of paradise."⁶

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 262.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, VII, H1, 26.

(3) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 435.

(4) *South Ind. Ep.* 1928-29, No. E, 116. (5) *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 262, etc.

(6) Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 171.

Coming to the ethics of warfare we find that many wars were aggressive. The king and the army won the booty from the vanquished foe. They seized the enemies' wealth, their substance, their war-vehicles and almost every valuable thing¹. Elephants and horses were added to the victor's force.

As the kings are generally described as brothers to other men's wives, it may be presumed that they recognised the sanctity of women and the soldiers were not allowed to violate their chastity. The invader was human to the aged, the children and the Brahmans, as their lives were held sacred². Cows though seized, were kindly treated. Temples were spared by the Karnataka kings, whereas the Tamil Cōlas destroyed them, especially those that belonged to rival religions³.

The chapter on warfare would be incomplete if we do not refer to the minister of war and peace. *Mānasollāsa* has some interesting verses on the qualifications of this important officer. It says: The ideal Sandhivigrahika is one who is bold, wise, and proficient in all the languages, who knows fully well the essence of war and peace, who is well-versed in scripts and able to read them out. He must also know the principles of six-fold systems, must be able to recognise the divisions of time and place, must know the income and expenditure of the state, and acquaint himself with the peoples and products of the land. Above all, he must be a person mindful of saving money and able to distinguish between good and bad, and be a master of all actions⁴.

It must be noted that the reputation of Karnataka soldiers of this period was recognised all over India. For Al-Beruni in his account tells us that Kannada warriors were employed in the army as far north as the Punjab⁵.

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 270. (2) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 329. (3) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 345.

(4) Shrigondekar, *Manasollasa*, p. 49, Śloka, 127-130.

(5) Sachau, *Al-Beruni's India*, Vol. I, p. 173.

CHAPTER VII

ECONOMIC CONDITION

Karnataka from very ancient times is known for its wealth and commerce. In the district of Chitaldrug was found a brass coin of the Chinese emperor Han-wa-ti of about the middle of the second century B. C. along with many silver coins of the Roman Emperor Augustus who died in A. D. 14.¹ This leads us to the logical conclusion that the Kannada land had commerical intercourse with foreign countries of both the east and the west, in that period. The occurrence of Kannada passages in a Greek drama of the second century A. D. further proves that Greek merchants were well acquainted with Kannadigas and their language.² The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang, who visited India in the seventh century A. D., tells us that the Empire of Pulikēsi was in a flourishing state.³ Commerce grew as centuries advanced; industries developed; and by the time the later Cālukyas made their appearance, Karnataka was rich and prosperous.

The period under survey saw the enormous growth of trade and industry which must have led to a vigorous growth of city-life. Among the important centres of trade Ayyavale was the most prominent. Arasikere, in the southern part of the province, was also known for its commerical activities, and hence it was popularly called as the Southern Ayyavale.⁴

(1) Narasimhaachar, *Karnataka Country*, Q. J. M. S., X, p. 251.

(2) *Mys. Arch. Dept.*, 1904.

(3) Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 255.

(4) *Ep. Cur.*, V, Ak., 77.

But nevertheless, the bulk of the people lived on agriculture which was the principle occupation. Even the capitals of the various Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras were known for their cultivation of fruits and vegetables. Vēṇugrāme was full of "perennial fruits" and was "pleasing on account of all its riches and enjoyments"¹. Sugandhavartti was always green with the groves of mango, cocoanut and Asōka trees.² Banavāse-nāḍ was famous for fruits and flowers. In that nad, says a record, there were rice fields from town to town, running channels from place to place, flower-gardens filled with fragrance of areca, punnāga, nāga, vakula, champaka, jasmine, screw pine, sandal, kaṇavīra, and white rose. There were groves of cocoanut, plantains, jack, mango, rose-apple, and other trees. The gardens of betel-lief were so thickly covered, that the ground was darkly shaded. There could be also seen big plantations of sugar-cane "trickling with juice".³ Similarly, Sāntalige-thousand was full of orange, plantains and citron-fruits. Mangoes, sugar-canes, areca and cocoa-nut palms-grew there abundantly. Such was the fertility of that land, says the inscription, that hunger was unknown in that region. Grass, firewood and water being plentiful, Brahmans found it a very convenient place to establish educational settlements.⁴ The city of Ālaṇḍe was "charming with various plantations of sweet-smelling rice (gandhaśāli), with parks and gardens which were in bloom through all the seasons". There were many well-filled tanks, wells and pools. It was the abode of "countless number of merchants"⁵. There were betel-nut plantations below large tanks.⁶ Similarly, the province of Kisukāḍ is said to have contained towns that were "full of

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. E. B. R. A. S., X, p. 252-53. (2) *Ibid.*, p. 281.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sb. 138.

(4) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sa., 109.

(5) *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 253-254.

(6) *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 233.

fruit, grain and kine"¹. The country of Belvola was a "goodly field for tillage by reason of her manifold varieties of grain."² The territory now occupied by the Parasgaḍ Tālukā of the Belgaum district was known for its forest of sāl-trees and was "resplendent with masses of lotuses, with flowering lakes of water-lilies, with budding mangoes, with blossom bearings, kinds of trees named Kōsaga, trumpet flower *nēriḷ* āśoka, and plantain"³. These descriptions in the lithic records are not mere poetical fancies. Even supposing that they are, we cannot escape the conclusion that the country was well watered and agriculture was in a flourishing state.

All this was not possible without an efficient system of irrigation. In fact, canals are mentioned in inscriptions.⁴ But the irrigation-system comprised generally tanks which were built partly by individual benefactions and partly by communal enterprise. The government also extended its liberal aid in the construction of big irrigational works. Tanks referred to in inscriptions are too many indeed to be mentioned here. It appears that ancient Karnataka was full of tanks, and it was through them alone that irrigation on a large scale was possible. Kannada literature of the period very often speaks of cool tanks surrounded by green fields. Moreover, tanks are generally mentioned as boundaries of lands given as grants⁵. From this it is apparent that many fields received water from the neighbouring tank. Some tanks were so extensive that they are compared to oceans,⁶ and are called Samudras. Thus we are told that a merchant by name Ekkalaśeṭṭi dug a big tank for the public use⁷. It was called Ekkalasamudra after the builder's

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 112.(2) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 262.(3) *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 6.(4) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sh., 138.(5) *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 331, and *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 25 etc.(6) *Mys. Arch. Dept.*, Report for 1923, p. 32.(7) *Ibid.*, p. 39.

name. Similarly Mahāpradhāna Sēnādhpati Tējumallayya and his officers repaired the tank called Gōṇasamudra. Grants were also made to the artisans who built the outlets and sluices¹. Again the great minister Sēnādhpati and Hiriya Tantrapāla Namūa constructed a tank called Nāgasamudra to the east of Muṭṭakūr.² From a Ratta inscription of 1204 A. D. we learn that Vēṇugrāme had at least two big tanks. The bigger of them is very likely the large tank which we see to-day on the north of the fort of Belgaum³. Similar instances can be cited.

Irrigation by channels was also in practice. We are told that great irrigational works were constructed by rich merchants with the help of the state which was ever ready to increase the economic prosperity of the people. We know that a certain Maṇi-Gāvunḍa brought the Jalagere channel to the Bayalākāṣa rice fields, so that it could irrigate the whole plain. Contributions were made by the central government and also by the Prabhus who formed the Local government.⁴

Water was also raised out of big wells by means of well-wheels called Rāṭaḷa⁵ and used for fields and household purposes.

Side by side with irrigation, town-planning was highly developed. Towns were usually divided into wards, and special attention was paid for sanitation. Suburbs were developed as the population grew. We are told that Ballipura was beautiful with three Brahmapuris in which the houses were as if joined together. That means that they were all built in straight lines. It also contained numerous varied mansions.⁶ According to a lithic record the city of Sōmanāthapura was "an ornament to the

(1) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1927-28, No., E 63. (2) *Ep. Car.*, XII, Pg., 43.

(3) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 25. (4) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sb., 359.

(5) *Ramachandra Charitra Purana*, 6, 65.

(6) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sb., 277.

beautiful country", having lofty towering walls surrounded by a deep moat. It contained two famous broad streets called *sūma* and *arka*. It was a joy to the eyes of all and was surrounded by numerous pleasure gardens in which trees bent down with foliage, and the fields were filled with grain. On all sides of it were tanks filled with lotuses and water-lilies.¹ From the description it is apparent that our ancients had long recognised the necessity of beautifying their towns with green parks and cool tanks.

Towns and villages were divided according to their size and population into various grades such as *pattana*s, *pur*a, *drōnāmukha*s, *maḍamba*s, *khēḍa*s, *nagara*s, *grāma*s,² *kharyēḍa*s and *saṃvahaṇa*s.³ We are told that the province of Kūṇḍi was "adorned with" villages, towns, hamlets, villages surrounded by hills, groups of villages, water-girt towns, chief cities, with elegant mansions, and with shining *agrahāra*-towns in the country of Kuntala.⁴

As regards jewellery, we find that the ornaments of the kings and the queens were extraordinary. Diamond rings were their ear-ornaments, and their bodies were adorned with pearl necklaces.⁵ Gold was used not only for ornaments, but was liberally given by the wealthy to Brahmanas in religious ceremonies.⁶ It was a custom among kings to bestow gold in abundance upon poets and learned men.⁷ Gold was so freely used that temple-towers were decorated with golden crowns.⁸ We are told that the harlots were displaying their wealth in rich ornaments made of gold and decked with precious stones.⁹ Nāgachandra in his *Puraṇa*

(1) Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, No. 27.

(2) Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, No. 55. (3) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 118.

(4) *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 25.

(5) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Nr., 37. (6) *Ep. Car.*, IV., Hg., 18.

(7) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Śindavamsa Chieftains* J. B. B. R. A. S. XI, p. 271.

(8) *Ind. Ant.*, LI, p. 12.

(9) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Śindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 251.

very often speaks of blue stones, diamonds, sapphires and all sorts of gems.¹ Merchants imported pearls in ships by sea and sold them to kings.² The merchants of Ayyavale were dealing in large sapphires, moon-stones, pearls, rubies, diamonds, lapis lazuli, onyx, topaz, carbuncles, coral, emeralds and other articles.³ The bazaars of Lokkigundi were famous for rubies and pearls.⁴ King Sōmēśvara in his *Mānasollāsa* treats of pearls and various kinds of gems.⁵ Their defects also are not omitted.⁶ Mention is made of the devastating results of possessing such defective pearls and gems. He says in one place that the king should not wear pearls which weigh more than two kaṇjas (equal to 60 gunjas).⁷

Agriculturists were given special privileges. The Paṭṭadakal inscription of Cāvūṇḍa II Sinda says that the queen Damulādēvi and the prince Ācideva granted to the agriculturists of that place some privileges, rent-free service-lands, and contributions in cattle and taxes.⁸

Land was classified according to the quality of the soil and the crop grown on it, as paddy fields, black-loam land, black land, red-black land, red land, dry land, wet land, low land, and Kēyi-Kammā-land.⁹ There was also pasture land which is often called as unploughed land¹⁰. Plots of land were minutely measured and stones were set up in the ground to mark the boundaries¹¹.

Coming to land tenures, we find that four kinds of them are mentioned in inscriptions; Tribhōga-abhyantarasiddhi

(1) *Ramachandra Charitra Purana*, V. verses, 112-119.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, V, Ak. 22.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 188.

(4) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 361.

(5) Srigoṇḍekar, *Manasollasa*, Slokas, 362-540.

(6) *Ibid.*, Slokas, 424-456.

(7) *Ibid.*, Slokas, 471.

(8) *Fleet Inscriptions Relating to the Sinda Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 273. (9) *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 290, XIV, p. 277; Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 109; *South Ind. Ep.*, 1916, No., B. 508. (10) *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 277.

(11) *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 26, etc. etc.

Sarva-abhyantara siddhi,¹ Sthala-(tala)-vritti,² and sarvamāsyā.³ Tribhōga Abhyantara-siddhi was a joint tenure enjoyed by a private person, a god or gods and Brahmans. Sarva-Abhyantara-siddhi on the other hand denotes a grant with full and complete rights of enjoyment. Sthala-vritti was a form of holding land for which payment was made in kind from the produce. As regards the nature of Sarvamāsyā, we are not in a position to say anything definitely.

We shall now turn to caste in its occupational aspect. Agriculture was in the hands of the Śūdras, and trade was carried on by the Vaiśyas. It is interesting to note in this connection that *Bhagavad-Gīta* prescribes agriculture and cattle-breeding as the occupation of the Vaiśyas, and not that of the Śūdras.⁴ The spread of Jainism with its principle of *ahimsa* must be held responsible for this change of occupation. Jainism was very popular among the Vaiśyas of ancient Karnataka. The ploughing of land, in which action insects and worms are inevitably killed, came to be looked upon as sinful. Hence the Vaiśyas withdrew from agriculture and left it in the hands of the Śūdras. It is really astonishing that in this period a few Brahmans began to undertake agriculture,⁵ which as centuries advanced became one of their occupations. In our own day the Havyaka Brahmanas of Kanara are skilful gardeners growing pepper, cardamoms and betel-nuts.

It is also noteworthy that some great merchants of the period were of Brahmana descent.⁶ The mercantile term *Seṭṭi* was not communal in its application as it is in the present-day Karnataka. Every big merchant irrespective of his caste was called a *Seṭṭi*. This is quite clear from an inscription which addresses two Brahmana merchants as *Seṭṭies* whereas their father, who had not taken to trade, is called *Māchi-dēva* instead of *Māchi-Seṭṭi*.⁷

(1) *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 271 and *J. B. R. A. S.* XVIII, p. 83.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 70.

(3) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 345.

(4) *Bhagavadgīta*, Adhaya 18, Sloka 44. (5) *Mys. Arch. Dept.*, Annual

Report, 1927, p. 53.

(6) *Ep. Car.*, V, Ak. 22.

(7) *Ibid.*

Living in those days was cheap. Dairy-farming was carried on extensively throughout the province. The villages were prosperous, and were known for milk, butter, curds, etc.¹ The province of Kūṇḍi was specially known for cattle-breeding. "Pleasing to the eyes", says one inscription, "is the country of Kūṇḍi which resembles the orb of the moon, with its herds of cows with their plentiful supply of delightful milk"². Every village had its grazing ground, and the cows were well cared for.³ Numerous viragals recording great sacrifices of the villagers in rescuing their cows clearly indicate that they felt a deep love for their cattle. It seems that in ancient times, the prosperity of a village was also calculated according to the numbers, of cows and bullocks which it possessed.

Similarly, kings were considered powerful according to the number of elephants that they had in their army. Hence king Sōmēśvara in his *Mānasollāsa* mentions the forests which were the haunts of elephants, and minutely describes the varieties of species and formulates means to catch them, train them and make them fit for war.⁴ Elephants were used by wealthy merchants for the purpose of carrying goods from place to place. We are told that the elephants of Gauḷa-Dēśa were famous and hence they were imported by Kan-nada kings. But Sōmēśvara seemed to have specially inclined towards the elephants of the Kalinga forests⁵.

Horses are very often mentioned in inscriptions. More over any viragal of some importance contains a battle-scene where the cavalry is seen very prominent. It is important to remember that Karnatak is not the home of well-

(1) Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions* No. 103.

(2) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatt and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 232.

(3) *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 271.

(4) Shrigondekar, *Manasollasa*, Intro., p. XI.

bred horses. They were therefore undoubtedly imported from foreign countries. An epigraph of 1186 A. D. tell us that horses were imported from Turkarsthana¹. Another of 1188 A. D. informs us that a rich merchant of Arasikere was importing horses in ships by sea, and selling them to kings². King Sōmēśvara, while referring to horses, uses the word *Yavanōdbhūta*³ by which is meant probably Arabian horses. "It appears that in his time horses from Sind, Arabia and the Kāmbōja countries were famous". "Well-bred horses" were also used like elephants for loading goods.⁴ We are told that a considerable portion of horse-trade of Karnataka was controlled by the merchants of Malabār⁵ whose ports had frequent intercourse with Arabia.

Among the industries that were common mention may be made of oil-extraction, spinning, weaving, sugar-making, perfumery, masonry, basket-making, mat-making, toddy-drawing, and pottery⁶.

Enriching the government treasury by the practice of alchemy is really astonishing. It is however referred to by Sōmēśvara in *Mānasollāsa*.⁷ Not only ordinary people were keen on alchemy but emperors and Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras also had recourse to such methods.⁸

Horticulture must have reached a high state of efficiency in this period. We find frequent mention of parks in the inscriptions where trees and creepers were planted.⁹ We have already given enough of references to them. A typical example is however furnished by a Sinda inscription which describes the beauties of Narayāṅgal (modern Narēgal in Dharwar) in the following language: "Narayāṅgal, laiden

(1) *Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 48. (2) *Ep. Car.*, V, Ak., 22.

(3) Shrigondekar, *Manasollasa*, Intro. p. XV. (4) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 118.

(5) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 26. (6) *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 125; XIII, p. 26; V, p. 25; Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. R. A. S.; X, p. 284. (7) Shrigondekar, O. C. Intro. P. XIV. (8) *Ibid.*

(9) *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 364; XIII, p. 53; *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 187. V, pp. 253-254. etc.

with fruits, is very charming. Very lovely it is with its flower gardens which diffuse many divine odours, with its cool tanks which confer the most exquisite pleasures, with its numberless groves, and with its rice and other juicy grains, the fragrance of which pervades the region ; charming it is to travellers.....and very much to be sought after".¹

Famines are always serious inroads upon the comfort and happiness of the people. But it appears that owing to irrigation they were almost unknown to Cālukyan Karnataka. We have not even a single reference to any severe famine, devastating the country, in the whole period covering more than two-centuries. In times of poor harvest the government was ready to extend its hand of protection, and to make remission of taxes. An interesting piece of evidence is afforded by an inscription from Kanakaveedu in the Bellary district. There we are told that the government granted a *raut* to the gaudas and the people of that place, after remitting 90 varahas of tax on account of the ruined condition of the village.² It appears that elaborate measures were taken by kings and chiefs to protect the people from ravages of famine. This is made clear by the nineteenth chapter in the *Mānsūllāsa* where the author says that it was the duty of the king to take care of his subjects when they were in distress.³

Roads are necessary in order to serve the purposes of communication both ordinary and commercial, and thus to advance the economic prosperity of a country. The whole of the Cālukyan Empire was provided with a net-work of roads. We have innumerable references to local roads which are referred to as boundary-marks to various plots of land. Some of these roads were not merely village path-

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Śivāyama Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 237.

(2) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1916, No. B. 548. (3) Shrigondekar, *Manasollasa*, Intro. p. 10.

ways, but were roads of considerable width, which could be described appropriately as roads in the modern accepted sense of the term, as they are called *Heddaris* (high roads).¹ For example there was a trunk road running from Tēradal in the Sāngli State to Hāngal in the Dharwar district.²

Commerce on a large scale in the Cālukyan Empire was carried on by what may be styled merchant princes, who are often compared to Kubēra in wealth.³ It is really astonishing to read that a bangle-seller amassed so much of wealth, that he came forward to convert his village into a town.⁴ Similarly, a certain Dēvi-Setṭi from Sorab Tālukā dug a new tank and cutting down the forests formed new rice-fields.⁵ The mercantile community is usually mentioned as belonging to *Vira-balanju-dharmma* at the head of which were the Five-Hundred Swāmis of Ayyavale (Aihole in the Bijapur district). These Swāmis were famous throughout Dravidian India, having acquired five-hundred *Vira-bāsanas*. They were "adorned with many good qualities, truth, purity, good conduct, policy, condescension, and prudence." Being conspicuous with the flag of the holy hill, they were acknowledged as the protectors of *Vira-Balanju-dharmma*. Having possessed thirty-two Velomas, eighteen cities, sixty-four yogapithas, they were born to wander over many countries. With invaluable articles in their bags as their wealth, "they visited the Chēra, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya Maleya, Magadha, Kausala Saurāshtra, Dhanushtra, Kāmbhōja, Gauḷa, Lāla, Barvvara, Nēpāla, Ēkapāda, Lambakarnna, Strirājya, Ghōlamukha and many other countries." They travelled both by land and water routes, penetrating into various regions with superior elephants, well-bred horses, large sapphires, moonstones,

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 226, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 31; *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 24, etc. (2) *Ind. Ant.*, XVI, p. 24. (3) *Mys. Arch. Dept.*, Report for 1928, p. 79; *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 21; *Mys. Arch. Dept.*, 1928, p. 32.

(4) *Mys. Arch. Dept.*, 1911-12, p. 44.

(5) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sb., 317.

pearls, rubies, diamonds, lapis, lazuli, onyx, topaz, carbuncles, coral, emeralds, *karkkētana*, and various such articles. They dealt also in cardamoms, cloves, sandal, camphor, musk, saffron, *maligaja*, and other perfumes, and drugs, "by selling which wholesale or hawking about on the shoulders," prevented the loss by customs duties. "They filled up the emperor's treasury of gold, of jewels and his armoury of weapons." They enjoyed in great comfort, merit, wealth, pleasure and prosperity. Their asses and buffaloes were adorned with red trappings¹.

From the above description it appears that the merchants were the most influential community in the Cālukyan Empire. Commerce by land and commerce by sea were their profession. These merchants had such a prosperous and flourishing trade that they amassed great wealth. Ayyavale became one of the wealthiest cities in South India. This only shows that the ancient Kannadigas were forward in commerce. We all know that trade and commerce are an index to a country's prosperity. "There is no greater wealth in a kingdom than its merchants," says the *Mahābhārata*².

Merchants were generally of three kinds, namely, indigenous, itinerant and foreign. Besides there were local traders called *gavares*³.

Besides Ayyavale and Arasikere, Vēṇugrāme, Tēradāḷa, Lakkikunḍi and Dharmavolālu were also important centres of trade. Tēradāḷ, says an epigraph, "was filled with money-changers", and was "adorned with much corn, milk, new ornaments, various cloths, with heaps of jewels and a mass of gold".⁴ It possessed wealthy guilds dealing in pots, jewels, clothes and yarn.⁵ The merchants of Tēradāḷ used oxen, asses, he-buffaloes, carts, rafts and boats to carry by

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 118.

(2) Quoted by Jaysaval, *Hindu Polity*, Part II, p. 172.

(3) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 26. (4) *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 21. (5) *Ibid.*

land and water all their things including jewels.¹ Similar was the commercial importance of Lokkikunḍi (modern Lukkunḍi in Dharwar district), which by reason of its bazaars and wealth was "like the realm of Kubēra".² Its bazaars were famous for sandal wood, camphor, various garments, rubies and pearls.³ The inscription proudly states that "as there are in that town exceedingly many things for attaining the various objects of man-kind, the whole population is therefore gladdened ever by the accomplishment of the objects of man-kind, and knows forsooth no sorrow".⁴ The record further says that "the man who has heard of its wealth, of its excellences, will be right eager to see it; the person who has seen it endeavours in his desire for happiness to dwell therein; he who has dwelt there has not been able to bear leaving it; if he has left it through mischance of fate, verily he is forever sorrowful and vexed by the remembrance of joys there".⁵ Making indeed due allowance for poetic fancy and play of imagination, we cannot escape the conclusion that Lokkikunḍi was a famous and rich city with prosperous trade and commerce.

The principle of co-operation, which is so important in economics, was known to our ancients. Villagers are often described as uniting of their own accord for common purposes effecting the welfare of their place.⁶ They used to undertake works of public utility on a cooperative basis. We are told in one record that the inhabitants of a certain village, having assembled together in a great assembly, agreed among themselves to make contributions, so that the village might acquire some of the advantages enjoyed by towns.⁷ For similar instances of collective action among villagers, the reader will look into the chapter on local organisation.

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 25. (2) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 361. (3) *Ibid.* (4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, pp. 361-362. (6) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1915, No. 499, etc.

(7) *Mys. Arch. Dept.*, 1911-12, p. 44.

In many cities trade and industry were regulated by guilds. There were also big mercantile corporations founded on government statutes. Inscriptions however do not give us enough of information about the working of these constitutions. Nevertheless, we have the good fortune to possess a record where Akkādēvi, the sister of Jayasimha II, granted to the eight setties of Sudi a statutory constitution. It is of the following tenor :

"The shops and houses are to have their four sides of access situate in their grounds of the land of Karagambāḍu. They allow them to stand with a grant of immunity from all imposts, including fixed land-rent, for two *srahēs*, beginning from the present year ; subsequently, from the year Nandana onwards, they are to be charged with *sarvaya* annually. The fixed land rent to be paid by them under the statutory constitution of the Department of Charities is to be eighteen gold gadyāṇas. The constitution of the eight setties is not to apply to the country nor the constitution of the country to the Eight. Within the Kisukāḍu Seventy the land of plots are to be immune from tolls with the *bīra-vaṇa*, Within the town, in cases where anything is lost, the *ara-lalāra* has to make it good. The guilt of the father shall not attach to a son, nor the guilt of the son attach to a father."¹.

The corporation was presided over by a chief merchant generally called Paṭṭaṇa-Svāmi.² Every profession worth the name was organised into a guild. Thus there were guilds formed by oil-mongers, betel-lief sellers, weavers, milkmen, artisans, toddy-drawers, basket-makers, mat-makers³ flower-sellers,⁴ washermen,⁵ goldsmiths, clothiers, cotton-dealers, jewellers, perfumers etc.,⁶. The mercantile corporations according to their nature and status were

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 80.

(2) *Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 344.

(3) *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 23. (4) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 118. (5) *Ibid.*, Sk., 11.

(6) *Ep. Ind.*, V., 23; XIII, p. 26; *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 118.

divided into various grades, and members of each grade were called by different designations such as swāmis, nakharas, mumuridaṇḍas, gavaras, gutrigas, seṭṭiguttas, anakāras, bīras, biravaṇas, gaṇḍigas and so on.

It seems that the guild could sit in judgment upon its members. Some of the important corporations were even granted the right of punishing those who interfered with their trade. Thus we are told that the Ayyavale corporation had the privilege to "bind the enemy's hand as a badge on a pole and parade about" ¹.

Guilds in those days, roughly speaking, also performed the functions of modern banks by accepting endowments and giving interest on them. Thus we are told that the donors of a temple deposited with a merchant guild of Shivapūr a sum of money at the interest of 25 p. c. out of which it was to maintain an offering to the diety.² There were also individual bankers or money-lenders who were lending money on a grand scale. They were generally called *Vaḍḍavyavahāris*.

Guilds were of two kinds, namely craft-guilds and merchant guilds. The latter class was undoubtedly more influential, wealthier and superior in organisation. It was also more independent so far as its internal affairs were concerned. It is worthy of note that the merchant guild of Ayyavale was entitled to carry its own flag.³

Guilds were largely hereditary, and the traditional goodwill was handed down from father to son. This had its own advantage. It would not only prove effective in commanding confidence, but would also lead to greater efficiency.

Guilds in ancient Karnataka were greatly responsible in moulding the socio-economic life of the people. Big mercantile guilds often served as municipal corporations of

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 118.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 273.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 118.

wealthy commercial cities. In discharging their civic functions they had to work in conjunction with the headmen.¹ The president of the guild called the Pattanaswami was also the town-mayor.² They often celebrated festivals, constructed temples and made endowments.³ Scholars received encouragement under their liberal patronage, and thus contributed to the enrichment of Kannada culture.⁴

That trade had attained a high stage of development is evident from the fact that traders were acquainted with the famous products of different countries. Thus an inscription of 1181 A. D. informs us that the elephants of Gaula, the horses of Turushka (muslim countries such as Turkey, Arabia and Afghanistan), pearls of Sinhala, the fine raiments of Cōla, the musk of Māgadha, the sandalwood of Malaya were specially known for their superior quality.⁵ Accordingly merchant guilds were extensively organised. The mercantile community of Hēñjēru in the Anantapūr district was made up of men drawn from all the provinces of Dravidian India, speaking Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam⁶. Similarly, the Sikārpur inscription tells us that there were both local and foreign cloth merchants in important cities.⁷ An interesting account of the Gujarat and Kērala merchants settled in Vēṇugrāma is afforded by a Raṭṭa inscription⁸. The existence of these cosmopolitan trading communities is tangible proof that the volume of trade that was carried on was very large.

The highly developed industrial corporate life, and the highly advanced economic and commercial prosperity of the towns of ancient Karnataka are amply testified to by a number of inscriptions that have come down to us. The market of a city was of huge dimensions. There one could buy almost any article which he desired.

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 283. (2) Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 181. (3) *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 23. (4) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 118. (5) *Ind. Ant.*, V, pp. 48-49. (6) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1916-17, No. C. 16. (7) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 118. (8) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 26.

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL LIFE—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

Village in Ancient Karnataka played the most prominent part in moulding the social and cultural life of the people. It was the smallest administrative and self-supporting economic unit, as we have shown in the chapter on local organization. Every village was blessed with a headman, aided by the accountant (Sēnabōva). The principle of local government was so uniformly recognised that even the Royal cities were administered by the gāvundas. Sugandhavarti, the capital of the Raṭṭas, was governed by twelve headmen in whom "abode all the qualities of the majesty of a noble disposition, celebrated for their achievements, of great fame, without rivals".¹ The population was made up of diverse castes based more or less on professional lines. Each functional group had to perform its duty towards the welfare of the community. "The *gaṇḍa* or *patēl* is the judge and magistrate; the *Karaṇam* or *shānbhāg* is the registrar; the *talāri* or *staliwār*, and the *lāti*, are severally the watchman of the village and of the crops; the *nirgaṭi* distributes the water of the streams or reservoirs in just proportion to the several fields; the *jūtishya*, *joisa* or astrologer performs the essential service of announcing the seasons of seed time and harvest, and the imaginary benefit of unfolding the lucky or unlucky days of hour for all the operations of farming; the smith and carpenter frame the instruments of husbandry, and the ruder dwelling of the farmer; the potter fabricates the only utensils of the village; the watchman keeps clean the few garments which are spun and sometimes woven in the family of the farmer, or purchased at the nearest market;

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 281.

the barber contributes to the cleanliness and assists in the toilet of the villagers; the goldsmith, marking the approach of luxury, manufactures the simple ornaments with which they delight to bedeck their wives and their daughters".¹

The meeting-place of the villagers was generally the temple. It was here where the inhabitants gave expression to their joys and sorrows. It was the centre of their religious as well as social activities. Religion was not differentiated from other aspects of life. In fact, it was the very breath of their life and basis of their existence. Hence the value of the temple in ancient times is indeed supreme. It was in the temple that the children learnt their lessons; the adults listened to the Purāṇic tales which imparted them a sort of moral instruction; the drummer-boy and the flute-player displayed their musical talents; the dancing girl with articulate sound practised the art of dancing; the architect decorated the walls with ancient episodes; the poet received inspiration to compose a song; the *bhaktas* gazed at the deity with a single-minded devotion; the village vagrants spent their idle hours in moving about; and the common folk had ample opportunities for simple mirth and merriment and unfettered joy especially in times of festivals.

It was almost a custom among wealthy individuals to endow and build temples. Even the poor contributed their quota for their maintenance. Thus an inscription found at Hoovinaḥaḍagali records that the wife of a certain wealthy Brahmana build a temple of Kēśava and made gifts of land and a house for the worship of the god for feeding Brahmans and for a flower garden. Other subsidiary grants were also made; viz., a village for conducting repairs to the temple, and gifts of money, and land by several individuals for betel-leave, sandal worship, oblations, perpetual lamps, *Chaitrapūjā* etc.²

(1) Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, I, pp. 467-468.

(2) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1914, No., 128, p. 15.

The income of public temples was carefully spent. The manager had to show the accounts to the trustees who were usually the village-head-men¹. Some inscriptions are so rich in details that we get a complete idea of how the money was raised. Sometimes Municipal taxes were set apart for religious and social purposes. Thus, the entire guild of *Nakhara* and the *Mummuri* headed by the twelve headmen of Sugandhavarti, forming themselves into a great assembly on market day, came to an agreement among themselves and set apart for the local god Mallināthadēva the following taxes. "They gave one hundred betel-leaves on each load of a beast of burden of betel-leaves, and fifty betel-leaves on each load of the same carrier of the head. Inside the village and in the market place the people of that place gave a spoon-ful on each kind of grain that was sold on each paddy-shop. They gave two betel-nuts on each shop. With respect to green ginger, jaggory, turmeric, and other miscellaneous articles, they gave one spoon-ful on each shop. Of cotton they gave on each shop as much as a man can hold in his hand. Also fifty cultivators gave a ladle-ful of oil on each oil-mill for the perpetual lamp of the same god. Also on oil that came from Beruru for sale, they gave an *aḍḍa* of oil on each *hāḍaru*. The potters of that place gave on each kiln a vessel for the water of the god. Also five hundred dealers in vegetables gave two bundles on each cart-load of vegetables put up for sale, and four vegetables on each load of a beast of burden. The Bōvakkalu (palanquin bearers) gave a small tax such as a gift in alms on the vegetables that they bought for sale".² The above passage evidently reveals the keen interest taken by the entire public in maintaining their foremost religious and social institution.

(1) *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 286.

(2) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 284.

People in ancient times, it seems to us, were well disposed towards charity. Works of public utility such as tanks and wells received their special attention. Wealthy individuals came forward to construct tanks, dig wells and to establish free feeding houses called *sātras* for needy travellers and learned ascetics. Thus we are told that a certain Māṇik-seṭṭi, "the glory of the Vaiśhyakula" made for a *salra* a grant of land from the produce of which to feed 12,000 Brahmins at the five *parva* seasons¹. Similarly, one Kāla-Gāmuṇḍa of Ambā built a *saṭara* "for distributing food to those of the country and those from other parts," and made a grant of twenty-five kamma of rice land². Again a Nāyaka granted five villages for the livelihood of the Pūjāri, and for the distribution of food to guests and the destitute.³ Another inscription records that the *sēnabōva* of Morigere restored a tank for the merit of his daughter⁴. A record from Bellary district registers the grant of land to a private individual by the *gaṇḍu sēnabōva*, *talavāra* and the *ayagaras* of *Hebbeta* for having constructed a tank when there was scarcity of water for cattle in the village⁵. Again a Raṭṭa inscription says that a certain Chikārya of Vaiśya caste was "ever inclined to charity and other good deeds"⁶. Similar instances can be multiplied.

Closely associated with temples, were the periodical festivals which gave the people free scope for simple mirth and merriment and unfettered joy. They casted away the monotony of humdrum existence, and provided ample opportunities for various sorts of amusements. Unfortunately we do not get a complete list of the festivities then celebrated. Nevertheless some of them are referred to in inscri-

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 294.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 14.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Cl., 61.

(4) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1915, No. 444.

(5) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1919-20, No. B. 715. (6) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. R. A. S., X, p. 92.

ptions. The Saundatti inscription of Sāntivarman mentions the festival of Dīpāvali of which illumination was a prominent feature, as it is even to this day¹. For it is expressly stated that the oil-mongers of that place gave one *maṇa* of oil on each oil-mill for the temple-illumination². A festival called Chaitra-Pavitra is referred to in some records³. We do not know the exact meaning of this term. We may however, presume that it was a purificatory ceremony performed in the month of Chaitra. The Vaiṣṇavas were observing *Ananta-Vrata*⁴. Annual festivals called *Juruparva* and *Panchaparva* are mentioned⁵. Besides these, there were annual illumination festivals called *Vārsika-dīpōtsava*⁶. Car festival appears to have been a common feature in which the villagers and the town-people alike joined⁷. In some villages it fell in the month of Chaitra⁸.

Another source of recreation was the fair or the market day⁹. The fair was of great commercial as well as of social value to the villagers. It was usually on some market day that the people convened themselves into a general assembly in order to make religious endowments¹⁰. In important places the market was held regularly once a week. Thus for example, the village Sunḍi had its *sante* on every Sunday.¹¹

Among the many curious customs then prevalent the ceremony of self-destruction by slow starvation is the most striking. It was the peculiar rite of the Jainas known as Sallēkhana. Its procedure is thus described in the *Ratna-Karaṇḍaka* of Samantabhadra :— "When overtaken by calamity, by famine, by old age, or by incurable disease, to get rid of the body for dharma is called sallēkhana. One should

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 208. (2) *Ibid.* (3) *Ibid.*, p. 256, South Ind. Ep. 1917-18, No., B. 733, etc. (4) Ep. Ind., XV, p. 97. (5) Mys. Arch. Dept., Report for 1912-13, p. 39. (6) *Ibid.*, p. 40. (7) Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 125 and 135. (8) *Ibid.* (9) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti & Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, 283. (10) *Ibid.* (11) Ep. Ind., XV, p. 100.

by degrees give up solid food and take liquid food; then, giving up liquid food, should gradually content himself with warm water; then abandoning even warm water, should fast entirely, and thus with mind intent on the five salutations should by every effort quit the body"¹.

As Jainism was a declining religion during the days under our investigation, we do not naturally get as many epigraphical references to Sallēkhana as in the earlier period. It is to be noted that the words Samādhi and Sanyāsana are frequently used to denote Sallēkhana². The rite seems to have been popular among the monks and the nuns, and was rarely resorted to by the common people. The ceremony was usually practised at Sravana Belagola, the famous holy place of the Jainas in South India. Hence the inscriptions scattered over the country very rarely speak of it. An epigraph of A. D. 1100 commemorates the death of a woman named Pollabbe by Sallēkhana Vrata³. Similarly, Jakkiyabbe, who was holding the office of Nāl-gāvundā of Nāgarakhanda seventy, when she was suffering from some "bodily disease" took the vow and fasted unto death⁴. The Ganga king Mārasimha II, we are told, "laid aside the sovereignty and at the town of Bankā...pura, in the performance of worship in the proximity of the holy feet of the venerable Ajitasēna," "observed the vow of fasting for three days, and attained rest"⁵.

Another method of meeting voluntary death was the ceremony of drowning oneself when one finds that death is drawing nearer. The Cālukya King Sōmēśvara I adopted this mode when he was afflicted with malignant fever in the year 1068 A. D. The inscription says that "thereby increasing his fame, he performed in Kuruvartti the rites of supreme Yōga, and in the Tūṅgabhadra the master of the

(1) *Ep. Car.*, II, Intro., p. 69, quoted by Mr. Narasimhaacharya.

(2) See *Ep. Car.*, II, Intro. p. 69.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, II, No. 156.

(4) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 219.

(5) *Ep. Ind.* V, p. 180.

world Āhavamalla ascended to heaven"¹. It is further interesting to note that the great Virāṣaiva teacher Siddharāma (About A. D. 1160) plunged into the tank he himself built, and thus attained Jala Samādhi.² While Sallēkhana was peculiar only to Jains, Jalasamādhi appears to have been common to all.

The well-known practice of Sati was common in ancient Karnataka, as it was in other provinces of India. A number of inscribed stones, set up in memory of those women who performed the act of self-immolation on the pyre of their husbands, are scattered throughout the Kannada country. They are called *māstikal* or *mahāsatikallu*, a term which literally means "a stone of the great wife". "They are generally sculptured with a pointed pillar or post, from which projects a woman's arm, bent upwards at the elbow. The hand is raised, with fingers erect, and a lime-fruit is placed between the thumb and the finger".³ One defect of those *māstikals* as a source of historical information is that they do not generally contain any letters to give us the names and other particular of the individual women who died with their lords. We however learn from a Sinda inscription discovered at Kurgōḍ that when the general Bācīrāja died and his corpse was being cremated, his wives Bāliyakka and Malpāniyakka entered the fire and immolated themselves with the corpse by the rite of Sati. And just before doing that they obtained the permission of the ruling prince for the making of certain grants to a temple.⁴ Similarly a record from the Sorab Tālukā states that when the Kadamba King Ravivarma died, one of his wives became a Sati.⁵ Again a Silā-Śāsana informs us that Dēkabbe, the wife of Ēca and the daughter of Raviga, observed the rite and went to heaven.⁶

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 136. (2) Narasimhaacharya, *Karnataka Kavi Charite*, I, p. 183. (3) *Rice, Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 185. (4) *Ep. Ind.*, XIV., p. 265. (5) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sb., 523, referred to by Prof. Moraes in the *Kadamba Kula*, p. 277. (6) *Ep. Car.*, IV., Hg., 18.

Coming to contemporary literature, we read in the *Ajilapurāna*, written by Ranna, that when the Cālukya minister Nāgadēva died, his younger wife Gaundamabbe became a Sati.¹ Here the poet describes how Gaundamabbe before immolation goes to her "rival-wife" (Savati). Attimabbe and persuades her to survive her husband, so that she would bring up the child which the latter recently gave birth. Attimabbe realising her greater duty as a mother accedes to her request. This incident amply proves that Sati was only a voluntary institution even among the ruling class, and what is more interesting, it was altogether abandoned in critical cases of the type mentioned above.

The *māstikals* were held in great esteem by our ancients. It may be rightly presumed that some of them were even worshipped, though we do not get any epigraphical references to that effect. Because, the common belief that the Sati would ascend to heaven and attain the world of gods was sufficient to make the people to revere her earthly memorial. It may, however, be noted that in our own day the *māstikas* strewn about the Karnataka are in many cases, recognised as gods and worshipped by the village folk.

Taking and observing vows was another custom prevalent in ancient Karnataka. It clearly implies that the people were serious in their outlook on life. What is more interesting, they were quite firm in their resolve. We are told that a certain potter Bommana, having taken a strict vow not to anoint his head or eat food till he had set up the god Kumbhēśvara, made grants of land in 1126 A. D. for the decoration of the god, perpetual lamp and offerings. Similarly, we hear of Kāliyakka, the wife of a distinguished minister, taking a similar vow². "Thinking what performance is there in the acquisition of wealth, which may be lost

(1) See Nērasimhaacharya, *Karnataka-Kavi-Charite*, I. P. 65.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, XL. HK, 68.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg., 90.

through robbers, or claimants, or the covetous, or kings, or fire, she made a vow, saying, "I will at once fix it go as to be secure" and came to be made in Sembanūru a beautiful temple for Jinapati"¹ These instances are sufficient to show that religion had a strong hold on the people of ancient times.

Still curious is the custom of self-destruction after taking a vow to that effect. This was purely a non-religious practice, unlike the examples cited above. We get a number of inscriptions recording instances of men committing suicide on the death of the king or the queen. Thus we are informed by a Cālukya inscription that a certain officer named Bōka had taken a vow: "I will die with the Dēvi." Eventually, when the queen Loccalā Dēvi went to heaven in A. D. 1185, and "on his master calling him, saying, 'you are the brave man who with resolution have spoken of taking off your head,' with no light courage Bōka gave his head, while the world applauded saying, "He did so at the very instant." "The word spoken with resolve is not to be broken"². A grant was made for the maintenance of his wife and children. Likewise, when Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tailapa deva of Hānagal died, his secretary Boppana "making good his word given for the occasion, went to swargga" with the king³. The earliest reference to this practice is found in an inscription of 865 A. D.⁴ It can therefore be said that the custom was still in its infancy during the Cālukyan days, and hence was rarely resorted to. But it is important to remember that it had grown enormously in the southern part of the Empire, so as to give rise to a class of warriors called *Garuḍas* who vowed to live and die with the king. A supreme instance of the self-sacrifice of these *garuḍas* is afforded by an

(1) *Ibid.* (2) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 249

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Hl., 47. (4) *Rice, Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 186.

inscription from Belur which records the immolation of a thousand warriors at the death of Vira Ballāla¹.

Vows were also entered into for the purpose of accomplishing some cherished object. These formed a class by themselves in the sense that they were not at all persuaded by any personal attachment to royal personages. Thus we are told that a certain Tuluva Candiga vowed "not to let the nail grow on his finger" if the Banavāse fort should be surrendered to a certain individual and when the news came that the fort was subdued he threw himself from the Gandabhērunda pillar and went to heaven². Similarly, when "the Mahāsānta Bopparasa and his wife Siriyā-Dēvi surrounded by all the subjects, were in the temple at the rice-fields, the cow-herd Mārāṇa's Son Dēkaya-Nāyaka made a vow, saying, 'if the king obtains a son, I will give my head to swing on the pole for the god Brahma of Konḍasabāvi'³. Here the idea underlying the vow was that the god would be pleased at the sacrifice and to fulfil it would bless the king with a son. It was a common belief in those times that self-torture gladdened the heart of god. We are again told that "in 1180 a chief gave his head in order the army to which he belonged might be victorious in the war to which he was marching"⁴.

An instance of a curious ceremony of self-destruction is described in an inscription found at Kōtūr near Saundatti. It tells us that a Śaiva ascetic by name Śambhu, who, "fearing not the shower of the fire delayed not, but ran up and fanned the flame; and then without hesitation, having thought on the god Mṛiḍa in his mind, with smiles passed through it!". And thus "having fearlessly offered his body to the flames; having behaved with the resignation of a most profound ascetic; and having meditated on the god Mahā-

(1) *Ep. Car.*, V, Bl., 112. (2) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 152.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 246. (4) *Rice, Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, pp. 186-187.

dēva; Śambhu attained union with the nymphs of heaven, and became content".¹

All these instances of self-immolation may appear to us at this distance of time as useless waste of human life and even foolish. Nevertheless it is to be admitted on all grounds that our ancients had the supreme courage to embrace death willingly whenever they thought that the time for it had come.

Setting up hero-stones in memory of soldiers and patriots, who died in battles or fights, was quite a common feature in the Karnataka. The person who thus sacrificed his life was known as "*Viṛa*" and his memorial slab as *Viṛa-gallu*. The Cālukyan times were often disturbed by the Cōḷa invasions. And after the fall of the empire, the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras, who now were left unprotected, had to fight in keeping with so many changing overlords, as the inscriptions of the Belagutti Sindas amply testify. Moreover, the feudatory chiefs who were more ambitious wanted to extend their territories, and thus Karnataka became a battle ground in the later half of the twelfth century. To add to this, cattle lifting was one of the recognised causes of ancient warfare. This was the basis of many a war that was fought by the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras. Thus we are told that Īśvara-dēva of Belagavartti led a cattle-raid against the village Ablūr which was then included in the territory of Singaṇadēvarasa, the ruler of the Banavāse province.² Such state of affairs naturally infused patriotism in the hearts of thousands who now came forward to sacrifice their everything for the defence of their country. Hence we find a large number of Viṛagals distributed all over the province during this period. The fallen heroes were duly honoured, and grants were made for the maintenance of their wives and children. These grants were called "*Koḍagi*" in Kanada and *Jayavritti* in Sanskrit.³

(1) *Ind. And.*, XX, pp. 70-71.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 261.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VII, H1., 65.

(4) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sb., 327.

Besides these, there are *viragals* for heroes who fought with robbers and died.¹ Female life, in ancient Karnataka, was held in great esteem, and to save it was a *punya* of the first class. A *viragal* of 1198 A. D. records that a certain *Beccoya* fought heroically in defence of women from outrage by robbers and after slaying them and rescuing the women died in the battle and was "carried to the world of gods by celestial damsels".² The chief interest of this inscription lies in the fact that an extra land grant was made for offering daily worship to the *Viragal*. The special honour thus bestowed upon this hero-slab is a clear indication of the high regard entertained by ancient Kannadigas for their women folk.

We have a singular instance of a person meeting his death in the act of merely protecting temple property from unjust aggression.³

The *viragals*, it seems to us, were worshipped by the people just in the same manner as the *Māstikals*. Even to-day we see a prominent *viragal* in almost every village in the Karnataka worshipped under the name *Bira*-(*Bira*) *Dēva* (The Heroic God). It is also important to remember that once in every year a ceremonial festival called *Banḍi-Habba* is celebrated when the *Banḍi-Makkals* go on giving *bali* (food) to every hero-stone lying within the boundary.⁴ This practice appears to be of great antiquity. Tradition says that it is so ancient that breaking it would certainly bring ruin upon the village.

Life in ancient Karnataka was one of luxury and enjoyment for the wealthy people, as it was also full of bravery, heroism and adventures. It was a fashion among kings to

(1) Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, Nos., 83 and 100.

(2) *Mys. Arch. Dept.*, Report for 1926, p. 57, No., 40.

(3) *Ibid.*, For 1927, p. 41, No., 11.

(4) I do not know whether the festival is observed in every part of the Karnataka. It is, however, performed in the North Kanara district.

marry more than one wife. The Emperor Vikramāditya had at least six, Sōmēśvara I had four, Kārtavīrya the Rāṭṭa had two, Tailapa II Kadamba had two, general Bāchirāja of the Sindas had again two, and so on. Social life was very much enlivened by women participating fully in the amenities of life. The system of Purdah was unknown to Dravidian India. Women attended temples and even went to the vegetable markets to purchase things.¹ It was a common custom among them to visit those that were pregnant.² They freely mixed with men and had no scruples to look at strangers passing along the road. But it is said that women who were mixing with low people under these pretexts, were not fit to be termed "family women".³ Chastity was highly honoured. Devoted wives are praised in elevated language in many inscriptions. In fact, devotion to one's husband was considered, as the highest duty of every faithful wife. Luxury and wealth often leads to immorality. We are told in a Rāṭṭa inscription that there were some "family women" who even used poisonous herbs in order to bring their husbands under their control, and thus caused them to waste away with consumption, jaundice, leprosy, or spleen disease.⁴

It is difficult to say whether women were allowed freedom in choice of their partners of life. They however took part in public activities and even held offices in the government. They were given sound education according to the profession and caste to which they belonged. We have the good fortune to know that the queens of Vikramāditya the Great were appointed as provincial viceroys. Akkāḍēvi, the sister of Jayasimha, could efficiently govern the country, could successfully lay siege to a fort and rightly attain the

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti & Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 229. (2) *Ibid.*

(3) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti & Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 279. (4) *Ibid.*

military title *Raṇabhairavi*, befitting her parentage and caste.¹ Kanti had the unique honour of being selected as the court-poetess by the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Ballāla of the Hoysala dynasty.² A certain Jakkiyabbe was holding the office of Nāl-gāvunḍa of Nāgarakhanda Seventy to her credit.³

Prostitution was popular in ancient times. There were special streets for courtesans and public women.⁴ It seems that fashionable young men resorted to their dwelling and spent their time there. It is to be remembered that public women formed an essential part of the temple staff.⁵ This was in fact giving a sort of religious recognition to prostitution. But when we consider the temple as a social institution, public girls in it were necessary to entertain the people with dancing and singing. The custom of presenting girls to temples was in vogue. We are told that a certain Siddayya presented gold, land and women to the temple of Ranganatha of Tambarahalli.⁶ What is more interesting, a curious instance of making gifts of virgins to Brahmans is mentioned in an inscription from Nagara.⁷ The ceremony is called Kannēdāna, and is constituted a part of Mahādāna.⁸

Dancing and singing were the favourite modes of amusement. Both men and women took part in them. Some villages had a common hall called Nāṭaka-śāla which served as the village theatre.⁹ This compares favourably well with

(1) *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 25. (2) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 110.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 219. (4) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 58.

(5) *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 58 and XV, p. 93.

(6) *South Ind. Ep. Report* for 1914, p. 16, No. 131.

(7) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Nr., 47. (8) This should be clearly distinguished from Kanyādāna, the common form of marriage in which the bride is given to the groom as a gift.

(9) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1925-26, No., C. 459.

the *āḍu-kaḷam* of ancient Tamils¹ and the *āḍu-kaṭṭe* of the Kannaḍigas themselves in later times.

Coming to sports and entertainments enjoyed by kings, chiefs, nobles and the aristocracy of the land, we find that they took delight in gaming and hunting.² Horse-riding was most common.³ Cock-fighting and ram-fighting were counted among royal recreations.⁴ The seven requisites of a court as mentioned in a Raṭṭa inscription were the learned man, herald, songster, poet, jester, historian and the reader of the Purāṇas.⁵ Of these the poet was perhaps the most prominent. Because we know that many kings took great delight to enjoy poetry and honour poets. It is said of Cāvunḍa Sinda that he "bestowed gold in abundance upon excellent learned men and good poets and worthy people."⁶ Permāḍidēva of the same dynasty is described as one who "was praised by poets, by wits, and by orators".⁷ King Kārtavīrya Raṭṭa not only "fulfilled the desires of learned people" but himself "excelled in the art of poetry".⁸

Then came the historian and the reader of the Purāṇas who were busy in narrating pleasant stories to their patrons. We are told that Kārtavīrya took great delight in listening to stories of brave men, who undoubtedly were the historical personages of ancient India.⁹ Permāḍidēva Sinda had "for the ornament of his ears the listening to the Saiva traditions".¹⁰

During the Cāluḷkyan days inter-caste marriages were not allowed, though in the previous centuries "Brahmins

(1) See Ramaachandra Dikshitar's *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, p. 269.

(2) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti & Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 234.

(3) *Ibid.*, XI, p. 245. (4) *Ibid.*, X, p. 234. (5) *Ibid.*, p. 253. (6) *Ibid.*, XI, p. 271. (7) *Ibid.*, p. 241. (8) *Ibid.*, p. 231. (9) *Ibid.* (10) *Ibid.*, XI, p. 245.

and Kshatriyas could marry and did marry women from castes lower than themselves." The caste system became so crystallized that it led to a complete disruption and disintegration of the Hindu society. The raising up of innumerable social barriers was detrimental to the growth of nationalism and racial unity. Conditions were such that they required a thorough reform, nay a revolution, in the social structure of the country. And fortunately enough for the land of Karnataka, a great reformer in the person of Basava made his appearance. He expressly tells us in his Vachanas that intercaste marriages were not allowed by the society.¹ The manner in which he repeatedly exhorts his followers to take to intercaste-marriages is itself a clear indication of how hopelessly the country was socially divided. We are further informed by lithic records that there were many sects in each caste; and these sects were not usually permitted to have matrimonial intercourse with one another. Thus it is recorded that the goldsmiths of a certain village were divided into two sects who did not inter-marry with one another.²

As to the institution of child-marriage, we have no direct historical evidence to know whether it was prevalent or not. Inscriptions are, however, silent on the point. The great social reformer Basava does not mention it. He would have certainly raised a voice against it if it were a living custom in his days. We shall, therefore, not be far from truth to assume that child marriage did not exist during the period of our study at least in the Karnataka.

Coming to dress, we learn from the vīragals that men in those days wore a short dhōti which did not cover the legs below the knees. Shirts were unknown, and the upper part of the body was left uncovered. They had a turban round their head which did not radically differ from that which is worn to-day. The fashion of tying the hair on the

(1) Halakatti, *Vachanasastrasara*, I. pp. 376-377.

(2) *Kys. Arch. Dept.*, Report for 1927, p. 74.

head in a knot called *Juṭṭu* was prevalent. Women wore the *Kappaḍa* or *sāri*, and the higher classes were also covering their breasts with *kuppasa* or bodice. Nymphs on the *viragals* are, however, sculptured with their breasts left bare. The wealthier women decked themselves with costly attire and rich ornaments. We are informed that a *Sāntara* princess was wearing pearl necklaces between her breasts and well-fitting diamond rings in her ears.¹ It is interesting to note that *Kēṭaki* was the favourite flower used by the aristocratic class to decorate the hair.² Queen *Lachchalādēvi* is represented in a *viragal* as putting a crown on her head.³ "Her wrists are decked with bangles, her arms with armlets and her legs with anklets".⁴ The courtesans were decorated with waistbands and belts round their hips and ear-rings, armlets and necklaces.⁵ It must, however, be remembered that the dress varied according to their position in society. The aesthetic sense of the people was so much developed that men took it a fancy to wear necklaces⁶.

It is, therefore, natural that the people with such aesthetic sense had a lofty ideal of feminine beauty. Kannada literature of the period is full of descriptions of feminine charms, which are often found in inscriptions as well. The following is one of such descriptions as furnished by a *Sinda* record : "The lustre of her body was the water ; if you regard it, her delicate arms were the lines of waves ; her eyes were the opening buds ; her smiling mouth was the lotus ; and the curls upon her forehead were the black-bees and her breasts were like two *Chakravāka* birds."⁷

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Nr., 37. (2) *Ibid.*

(3) See *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Intro., p. 8.

(4) Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, p. 275. (5) *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 106.

(6) In a *viragal* which is now preserved in the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, the warriors are found with necklace. (7) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindhvamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 271.

CHAPTER IX

RELIGION

It is generally said, and rightly too, that if there is any thing in which a race expresses itself completely and in its innermost qualities, that thing is its religion. This remark, we believe, applies more fittingly to ancient India where religion was the dominant factor in the cultural life of the nation. Hence a short account of the religions and the religious conceptions of the Kannada race during the period of our study will greatly help us in estimating the contributions of Karnāṭaka to Indian culture.

The eleventh and the twelfth centuries, occupied by the Mahāmaṇḍalāśvaras, mark the most important period in the religious history of the province. It was in this period that the predominance of Jainism began to wane, Vaiṣṇavism under Rāmānuja came to stay, Virāṣaivism as preached by Basava caught the popular imagination and lastly the declining Buddhism died a natural death. In fact, it was an age when Karnāṭaka witnessed great religious changes almost revolutionary.

First turning to Buddhism, we find that it was fast declining, though a few traces of it are recorded in inscriptions. Thus an epigraph of the reign of Vikramāditya VI states the existence at Dharmavolalu (modern Dambal in the Dharwar district) of a *Vihāra* or temple of Buddha which had been built by the sixteen Śeṭṭis of that place, and of another *Vihāra* of Tārādēvi, the object of the inscription being certain grants to these two *Vihāras*¹. Another record of A. D. 1065 informs us that a certain Daṇḍanāyaka Rūpa-Bhaṭṭayya who was in charge of the eighteen Agrahāras, established a Buddha *Vihāra* at Balligāve². Again an inscription coming from the same place says that Balligāve-

(1) *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 185.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 170.

was famous for its five mathas and the temples of Jina, Rudra, Buddha and Hara¹. The same fact is repeated by another epigraph of A. D. 1129². This is perhaps the last mention of a Buddhist temple in Karnataka, so far as lithic records are concerned.

It is interesting to note, by the way, that a woman by name Nagiyakka was the *Sāvāsī* of this Buddha *Vihāra* in A. D. 1098.³

Buddhism seems to have been under the patronage of at least a few Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras and state officials even in this period when it had fallen on evil days. For we have definite evidence to show that a certain Mahāsāmanta Gōvi was a staunch supporter of this creed.⁴ Similarly, in the year A.D. 1110, the Silāhara Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of Kolhāpur "constructed a large tank and placed on its margin an idol of Buddha along with those of Śiva and Arhat, and assigned lands for their support".⁵

The bulk of Buddhists in this period appears to have been formed by the merchant class. We have already seen above that the monastery at Dambal owed its existence to the charity of sixteen merchants of the Vaishya community. Further we are told by another inscription found at the same place that in the Cālukya Vikrama year 23, fifty Telligas (oil-sellers), having met in an assembly, made a gift of oil for the purpose of a perpetual lamp to be lighted in the above mentioned Buddha temple.⁶

Turning to contemporary literature, we find that the famous Jaina writer Hēmacandra mentions two Buddha monks at the court of the Kadamba Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Jayakēśi I of Goa, who reigned from 1050 A. D. to 1080.⁷

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 136.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 100.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 106.

(4) *Ep. Car.*, XII, Ck. 13.

(5) Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 98. (6) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1927-28, No. E 65. (7) *Ind. Ant.*, IV, p. 233.

It may, however, be noted in this connection that Buddhism was never a popular faith in the land of Karnataka. True, the great emperor Asoka did his best to propagate it in the Kannada country, as his edicts, found near Chitaldrug amply show. But in spite of his efforts Buddhism did not strike deep root in Kannada soil. According to Mr. Hayavadana Rao, Buddhism was eclipsed by Jainism which was more tolerant of ritualism.¹ One great advantage that Jainism seems to have possessed over Buddhism was that the former was backed by the ruling dynasties of the day, notably the Gaṅgas and the Kadambas, whilst the latter lacked this local influence of political nature.

Having said so much about Buddhism, let us now turn our attention to Jainism. Jainism seems to have been the faith of a large number of people in the days of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras. It is now an admitted fact that the Cālukya emperors were not the followers of Jainism; but at the same time they were the supporters of it. This is evident from many inscriptions that have come down to us. The Bālūr inscription of Jayasimha II tells us that his sister Akkāḍēvi was practising the religious observances of Jīna, Buddha as well as those of Viṣṇu and Śiva.² The object of this inscription was to record a grant to the Pērūr Agrahāra in memory of her elder bother Vikramāditya V. A feudatory chief of Vikramāditya VI, we are told, established a temple named Gonka-Jinālaya in the centre of his capital Tēradal.³ The inscription describes the builder Gonka as "the virtuous champion of Jainism". We are further informed that Sōmēśvara I conferred the title of Śabda-Caturmukha on a Jaina preceptor⁴. A record of Sōmēśvara III tells us that one of his Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras Mahāsimhadēvarasa allotted the block of the boundaries of the rice land for the performance of various rites of the god Ēkaśāleya Pārśvanātha

(1) Hayavadana Rao, *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 296. (2) *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 271. (3) *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 14. (4) *Ep. Car.*, II, p. 69.

Dēva connected with the temple of Māṇikyadēva¹. A certain faithful and beloved feudatory of Sōmēśvara II built the mallikāmōda Śāntinātha Basadi and with the permission of the emperor made gifts to it. When Barmadēvarasa was a viceroy of Vikramāditya VI, ruling over the Banavāse and Sāntalige provinces, he was persuaded by a certain Jaina, called Pratikanta singayya, to obtain a village from Ballavarasa and give it to the Permmādibasadi at Balligāve. This, the emperor sanctioned. From the name of the basadi it appears that it was first established by Vikrama himself when he was a prince and as such was ruling over Banavāse.

It will thus be seen that the Cālukyas were patrons of Jainism, though their personal creed was Hinduism. Their love for Jainism was so great that many of their inscriptions begin with the invocation addressed to Siva and Jina. This led some scholars even to doubt whether the Cālukyas were of Jaina faith. Thus for instance, Dr. Burnell was inclined to think that the Cālukyas were originally Jainas⁴.

Among the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras, the Raṭṭas of Saundattī stand pre-eminent as the followers and supporters of Jainism during the period of our study. We have already seen elsewhere that the Raṭṭas were raised to political power by the Rāshtrakūṭas. It was thus natural for this feudatory dynasty to support Jainism which found some of its greatest patrons among the Rāshtrakūṭa emperors. Later on when the Raṭṭas came under the sovereignty of the Cālukyas, they did not think it advisable to change their faith though they changed their overlords. This was typical of the time which breathed an atmosphere of religious toleration.

(1) *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 131.

(2) Pal, *The Western Chalukyas of Kalyani*, (An unpublished thesis), p. 435. (3) *Ibid.* (4) Burnell, *South Indian Pallography*, p. 109.

The Raṭṭa inscription found at Mulagunda begins with an invocation to Candraprabha who was the cause of the diffusion of the sacred writings of Jina¹. Another epigraph which comes from Saundatti, records several distinct grants to Jaina temples.² In this record we find that the first of the Baisas who attained some political position was Prithvirama, the son of Meraḍa, who enjoyed it under the Rāshtra-kūṭa king Kṛṣṇa, and that previous to his elevation he had been a Jaina religious student of the Kārēya sect of the holy saint Mailāpatīrtha. It will thus be seen that the Baisas from the very beginning were Jainas by faith. Another lithic record found at the same place registers a grant of one hundred and fifty *mattars* of land by king Sānta or Sāntivarma, the grandson of Paṭṭiga, to a Jaina temple that he had built at Sugandhavarti, and a grant of the same amount to the same temple by Sāntivarma's mother Nāgiyabbe.³ Again another inscription, discovered at Saundatti, records a grant to the Jaina temple made by the bountiful prince Bhāgalādēvi and her husband, the great Raṭṭa chieftain king Kārtavīrya II.⁴ Unfortunately, "the details of this grant", says Dr. Fleet, "could not be clearly made out".

Coming to the reign of Kārtavīrya IV, we find that he too, like his predecessors, was a great patron of Jainism. The Kalhōli inscription informs us that, at the command of Kārtavīrya, certain grants were made to a Jaina temple that had just been built as Sindana-Kalpoḷe.⁵ The purpose of this grant was to provide food, wholesome medicine and instruction in the sacred scriptures for the holy men living there, as well as for repairs of the temple. Of the reign of

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 192.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 194.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 204.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 213. (5) *Ibid.*, p. 229.

the next king Lakṣmīdēva II we have an inscription which proceeds to record various grants of land made to the Jaina temple at Saundatti, at the command of the royal preceptor Municandradēva.¹ Similar examples from the Raṭṭa records can be cited. But we believe that these are more than enough to convince us that the Raṭṭas were the staunch supporters of Jainism.

It should not, however, be supposed that Jainism flourished only at the Royal courts of Saundatti and Belgaum. In fact, it was the faith of a considerably large number of people living in the Kūṇḍi province, the dominion of the Raṭṭas. The Kalpoḷe inscription noticed above mentions a family of Yādava Chieftains who were governing the district of Hagaratage under the Raṭṭas. What should be noted, in this connection, is that this minor feudatory family too was Jaina by faith. It describes the King Rāja, the most famous chieftain of this dynasty, as a great Jaina patron. The epigraph reads: "Other kings are addicted to the forbidden recreations of gaming, hunting, eating flesh, associating with courtezans, running after others' wives, mixing with low people, stealing, and unfair ram-fighting and cock-fighting;.....; but even apart from that, are they like you, O king Rāja: devoted to the worship of Jina and to giving gifts to world-renowned saints?" It further proceeds: "King Rāja.....whose head is even purified by the fragrant waters of the rites of the Jaina religion, who ever relates the legends of religion, a very moon to the ocean of nectar of the doctrine of Jina,..... caused to be created at Kalpoḷe, which is the best town in the whole world a temple of Jina, wonderful to be beheld, the diadem of the earth, having three pinnacles that are unequalled, so that Brahma and Viṣṇu and Śiva were charmed with it and said, "The Jain religion is the spotless religion."

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 273.

The inscription continues: "Thus king Rāja, the beloved of the goddess Sri in the form of unceasing happiness, having created at Sindan-Kolpoḷe a place of retreat for the high minded devotees of the god Sāntinātha (Jina), adorned with golden pinnacles and arched portals fashioned like a sea-monster and pillars of honour, gave it to Subhacandra Bhaṭṭāraka, who was considered his own spiritual preceptor".¹

We have already remarked that Jainism was a popular creed professed by a good number of people in the Kundi province. This opinion is corroborated by epigraphical evidence. The Mulagunda inscription tells us that the four headmen of certain guilds, belonging to a district, gave a field of the measure of one thousand betel-plants to the Jaina temple of the place. And to that same temple of Jaina the Brahmans of the family of Ballāḷa, with the consent of two thousand merchants, gave a field of the measure of one thousand betel plants in that same field of Kaṇḍa-verma māṇa.² It is recorded in another inscription that the merchants of some four towns convened themselves together into a great assembly and set apart certain contributions for the purposes of perpetually anointing the god Sāntinātha of Sindana-Kalpoḷe.³ And all the people of the districts, headed by all the guilds of the place called Ēḷūvare and the place called Hannondūvaré, made some contributions to the same God.⁴ The above references conclusively prove that Jainism found special favour among the trading communities of the period.

Though Jainism was thus professed in the Cālukyan Empire by a considerable portion of its population, it now ceased to be the "conquering religion that it was". If Jainism ever had its golden age in the history of Karna-

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, pp. 234-235. (2) *Ibid.*, p. 193. (3) *Ibid.* p. 238. (4) *Ibid.*

taka, it was under the Gaṅgas and the Rāshtrakūṭas. The personal creed of the Cālukyas was Hinduism. Hence Jainism could not command so much of political influence as it once did under the patronage of the earlier dynasties. What is more, it now began to wane and by the time the Cālukyan Empire disappeared from history, it ceased to exist as a prominent force in the land of its previous glory. This change was brought about by the operation of a series of causes which we note below.

First of all, the influence of Śāṅkarācārya was not without its effects on other religions. His teachings gained much ground during the ninth and the tenth centuries; and Hinduism assumed the form of an active converting creed. Unfortunately for Jainism the great philosopher-teacher made Śṛīṅgēri, in the very heart of Karnataka, his headquarters and there established the principle seat of his faith.¹

Secondly, the fall of the Gaṅga kingdom of Talakāḍ in A. D. 1004 and the wide conquests and temporary dominion of the Cōḷa kings, as Mr. Rice observes,² was one of the main causes for the decline of the Jaina creed. Rājēndra Cōḷa and his successors were not only staunch supporters of Saivism, but powerful enemies of Jainism. They are sometimes described to have ravaged the country as far as Puligere, destroying the Jaina shrines. For example, the Gavarwād inscription of Sōmēśhvara II tells us that when the Cōḷa king Rājēndra-Dēva invaded Belvola he burned down many temples, and defiled and damaged the Jaina sanctuaries; but he paid the penalty of his crimes by being defeated and slain by Sōmēśvara I. The words describing the wicked deed of the Cōḷa monarch are worth quoting. The inscription reads: "When the base Cōḷa, failing in his position, deserting the religious practice of his own race, set foot upon the province of Belvola and burned

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VI, Sg., 11. (2) *Rice E. P., A History of Kanarese Literature*, p. 24.

down a multitude of temples, he gave his live head in battle to Trailokyamalla, suddenly up the ghost, and brought about the desertion of his family so that his guilt bore a harvest in his hand".

"That deadly sinner the Tivula, styled the Pāṇḍya-Cāla, when he had polluted these temples of the supreme Jainas erected by the blest Permānaḍi, sank into ruin".¹

Thirdly, the conversion of the Jaina king Bīṭṭidēva (A.D. 1117-1137) of the Hoysala *dynasty* by Rāmānuja was another shock which Jainism had to sustain. Rāmānuja's work did not stop with the conversion of the king. He is said to have stayed at Dwārasamudra for more than twenty years during which period he was able to build a large Vaiṣṇavite community in South Karnataka.

But the greatest blow ever dealt to Jainism in South India was the revival of Virāṣaivism in the twelfth century under the able guidance of Basavēśvara who by the nobility of his mind and sincerity of his soul stirred the very spiritual life of the Kannada race and created a powerful religious sect called the Liṅgāyats.

Coming to Śaivism, we find that it was the most popular faith adopted by a large majority of the subjects. This is evident from many inscriptions which begin with an invocation to god Śambhu. If the Raṭṭas and the Sēnāvaras were Jainas, the Sindas, the Guttas and the Pāṇḍyas were all Śaivas. The predominant influence of this faith can be well judged by the fact that even two of the Raṭṭa inscriptions, contain verses in praise of Śiva. One of these records describes Śiva in the following glowing terms: "Reverence to Śambhu, who is made beautiful by a Cowri which is the

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 345.

(2) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Belgaum and Saundatti*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, pp. 250, 273.

moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds." ¹ Then the inscription proceeds to invoke Gaṇapati and Pārvatī. What is more interesting, the epigraph prays to Lord Śiva to "grant the fulfilment of the desires that are born in the race of the Raṭṭas."

It is needless to emphasize that the Śindas were Śaivas. We have seen elsewhere that they claimed to be the descendants of Śiva himself. From the union in love of Śiva and Sindhu was born a son who eventually came to fame as the "Long-armed" (nidudāl) Sinda, the founder of the dynasty.² Besides, the inscriptions refer to liberal endowments made by the Sinda chiefs to Śaiva sanctuaries. Thus the king Īśvaradēva of the Belagutti branch is said to have made grants of land to certain Śaiva teachers who were famous for their religious knowledge.³ Mallidēvarasa of the same dynasty made a grant of land for the service of the god Siddhēśvara and freed it from the artisan's tax, oil-mill tax *biravaṇa*, the family tax on bullocks, *herjjunk*, *koḷavīsa* and *bandarahana* after washing the feet of Sankarāsi Paṇḍita.⁴ King Permāḍidēva I of the Yelburga house is described as one "who has for the ornament of his ears the listening of Śaiva traditions."⁵ He was one of those who "acquired the most excellent favour of the God Śrīkanthadēva".⁶

The Pāṇḍyas, like the Śindas, appear to have been Śaivas. This is clear from their inscriptions which record liberal endowments made by them to various Śaiva temples. Thus, the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya is stated to have made certain grants to the Śaiva agraḥāra of Bāḍa on the application of the Brahmanas of that institution

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 250. (2) *Ep. Car.*, VII, H1, 50.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VII, H1, 45. (4) *Ep. Car.*, VII, H1, 46.

(5) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 236. (6) *Ibid.*, p. 245.

and remitted certain taxes.¹ Similarly Vijaya Pāndya constructed a tank for the god Jagatiśvar and made certain endowments for various purposes including decoration, worship and offerings to the God.² Similar instances can be easily multiplied.

It is a well known fact, stated in inscriptions, that the family god of the Gutta Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras of Guttal was Śiva under the name of Mahākāla of Ujjayani.³

Thus then, it is crystal clear that many of the great feudatory families of the day were the worshippers of Śiva, though their overlords belonged to the Vaiṣṇava faith. But at the same time it is noteworthy that the Cālukyas were so much influenced by the Śaiva cult that Bilhana in the *Vikramāṇkadēvacharita* introduced Śiva thrice to instruct the hero of the work.⁴ "The patronage that Śaivism received at the hands of the Cālukyas is amply illustrated by the fact that kings lent their names to Śaiva sanctuaries built either by them or their officers. Hence we see temples of Śiva bearing the names of Jagadēkamallēśvara, Mallikāmodēśvara, Akkēśvara, Sōnēśvara and so on."⁵ The popularity of Śaivism is further amplified by the fact that out of the thirteen inscriptions found at Pūli five are Śaiva, three are Vaiṣṇava, two Jaina, one belonging to the cult of Harihara while the rest two are non-sectarian hero-stones.⁶

One prominent Śaiva sect of the period under survey was that connected with the Kālāmukhas. These are described in inscriptions as having come to Karnataka from the distant Kashmir, though we do not know when and how.⁷ Dr. Bhandarkar tells us that the Kālāmukhas were a religious class eating food in a skull, besmearing the body with the ashes of a dead body, eating the ashes, holding a

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg., 139. (2) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg., 4. (3) *Eleas. P. S.*, and *O. C. Inscriptions*, No., 108. (4) *Pai, Western Chalukya of Kalyan* (unpublished thesis) p. 439. (5) *Ibid.* (6) *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 170. (7) *E. C.* VII, Intro. p. 46.

club, keeping a pot of wine and worshipping the God as seated therein.¹ They were the followers of a Śaiva system of philosophy associated with an ancient teacher by name Lākuliśa, who according to Mr. Rice, can be traced back as far as the first century A. D.² But the earliest mention in Karnataka of the Kālāmukhas is in the Nandi plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvind III. This epigraph contains a date corresponding to December 18th A. D. 807, on which day a grant of a village was made by the above mentioned king to Īśvaradāsa the head of the temple at Nandi. This Īśvaradāsa, the head of the temple at Nandi, is styled a Kālāmukha and the disciple of Kālaśakti in the Chik-Ballāpur plates dated A. D. 810, which records a grant of the former on behalf of the temple.³

These Kālāmukhas appear to have gained much influence in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries when they were in a flourishing condition throughout the Kannada country. They are generally referred to in the inscriptions as managing great educational institutions attached to Śaiva temples. These were called Maṭhas, the most famous among them being the one at Belgāme in the neighbouring territory of the Sindas of Belguṭṭi, and the other at Hūli in the Kūṇḍi province of the Raṭṭas. We learn from the records that these mathas were presided by very able pontiffs who were the recipients of the patronage of the emperors, feudatory chiefs and governors. Thus the Kālāmukha teacher Jnānaśakti of Pūli was a distinguished divine and scholar to whom king Bhuvanaika-malla (Sōmēśvara II) paid particular reverence, in connection with which a fine temple of Śiva was built.⁴

These Kālāmukhas appear to have been great educationist from whose influence even the kings and the feudatory

(1) *Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism*, p. 127. (2) *Rice, Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 205. (3) See the *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 77. (4) *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 189.

chiefs could not be immune. Some of them bore the title "Rājaguru"¹ which clearly implies that they were appointed as teachers to royal families. Of these Rājagurus mention may be made of Śivēśvaraśakti (A. D. 1071) of Kuppatur, Vāmaśakti (A. D. 1160) of Belgāme², and Kriyaśakti (A. D. 1206) of Asandī³. Dr. Venkatasubbaih tells us that the Kālāmukhas were divided into divisions and sub-divisions called *parśhe* or *āvali* and *santati*⁴. It is further interesting to note that some of these preceptors were celibates.⁵

We do not know why and at what time these Kālāmukhas disappeared from Karnataka. But so much is certain that their influence was greatly reduced by the revival of Virāśaivism in the twelfth century. It is true that the Kālāmukhas were also Saivas like the Līṅgāyats. But Basavēśvara who revolted against the caste system did not favour the Śaivism of this sect which was orthodox and narrow in its outlook. A study of the educational maṭhas and agraḥāras managed by the Kālāmukhas is quite a fascinating one. But as we are here concerned with religion rather than education, we shall speak of them in detail in the proper place.

Side by side with the Kālāmukhas there existed a class of Saiva ascetics called Goravas, who were held very sacred by all Hindus including Vaiṣṇavas. A Vaiṣṇava inscription of A. D. 1082⁶ which records a grant to a temple of Viṣṇu, states that "to him who appropriates and destroys the grants shall accrue the guilt of downright cold-blooded slaughter of Brahmans, Goravas, herds of kine and women".

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sb., 279. (2) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 96. (3) *Ep. Carn* VII, Cl, 64. (4) Venkatasubbaih: *A Twelfth Century University i.*, *Mysore Q. J. M. S.* (Vol. VII, p. 179). (5) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 277. (6) *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 178.

As has been remarked above, Vaiṣṇavism was another popular creed in the Cālukyan Empire. Many of their records state that the boar emblem was a boon granted to the Cālukyas by the god Nārāyaṇa. Thus in the Harihara plates of Vinayāditya Satyāśraya, the Cālukyas claim to be of mānavya gōtra, sons of Hāriti nourished by the seven Mothers of the world, owing to their good fortune to Karttikēya and subjecting all kings in a moment at the sight of the Boar ensign obtained from Nārāyaṇa.¹ Moreover "their very emblem the boar represents the incarnation of Viṣṇu. Some of their titles such as Viranārāyaṇa, Cālukya-Nārāyaṇa, Rāya-Nārāyaṇa etc., speak for the supremacy the religion enjoyed during their days. From the boar crest, acquired according to their tradition from god Viṣṇu himself, and from the invocation in the beginning of all their records irrespective of their sectarian subjects, it is plain that the family god of the Cālukyas was Viṣṇu " ²

It is worthy of note that this period saw the worship of Harihara, a god brought to prominence with an idea to reconcile rival sects of the Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaivas. This Harihara, the combined deity, is sometimes mentioned by the name Śankara-Nārāyaṇa in some records. A Pāṇḍya inscription of A. D. 1171 begins with an invocation to Harihara and records a grant to the temple of Svayambhu Śankara-Nārāyaṇa.³ It appears that some people began to realize the importance of both Śiva and Viṣṇu. Those who believed in this were anxious to spread their new cult among others. With this object in view temples dedicated to Harihara came to be built. An inscription from Hūli dated 1097 A. D. pays homage to god Harihara of that place, established by a certain Ajjavara Nākimayya.⁴ The reason

(1) Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, No. 132.

(2) Pai, *Western Chalukyas of Kalyani*, (Unpublished thesis), p. 448-449. (3) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 32. (4) *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 183.

that led to the foundation of a Harihara shrine has been clearly stated in an epigraph that comes from Dāvaṇagere. "Some saying that beside Hari there is no god in the earth and some saying that beside Hara there is no god in the earth, in order to remove the doubts of mankind, was assumed with glory in Kūḍalūr the one form of Harihara. May he with affection preserve us. The celebrated Śiva acquire the form of Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu acquired the great and famous form of Śiva, in order that this saying of the Veda might be fully established, in Kūḍal there stood forth in a single form praised by the world, Harihara,—May he protect the earth".¹

Among other deities that were worshipped mention may be made of Brahma and Sūrya. We hear of a temple at the famous town of Balligāve dedicated to god Brahma. 'There the temples of Hari, Hara, Kamalāsana, Vitarāja and Buddha, like the five "arrows in the world, shine as the five maṭhas in that city."² Similarly an inscription from the Bādāmi Tālukā refers to a temple dedicated to Hari, Hara and Brahma.³

Sun-worship, though not common, was in existence. A record of A. D. 1139 states that the Prabhu of Māvalli in the Nāgarakhaṇḍa Seventy had an image of Sūrya with race made, and set it up.⁴ Again, we learn from an inscription found at Māgaḷ that the king's treasurer and the Mahājanas of Mamgōḷa made some grants to a temple of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Sūrya, built by one Marmarasa.⁵

The most important event in the cultural and religious history of Karnataka in the days of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras was the great revival of Viśaiṣivism which superseded the Jains and ousted the Brahmans. The origin of this powerful movement is attributed to a certain Brāhmaṇa called

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg., 25.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 100.

(3) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1927-28, No. E 237. (4) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 266.

(5) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1914-15, p. 14, No. 123.

Ekāntada Rāmayya. The full story of this originator is recorded in an inscription in the temple of Sōmanātha at Ablūr in the Dharwar district. The inscription belongs to the reign of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kāmadēva of the family of the Kadambas of Hāṅgal who reigned, according to Dr. Fleet, from A. D. 1181 to 1203¹. The story may be summarised in the following words :—To a Śaiva Brāhmaṇa, an inhabitant of the town Ālande, there was born a son named Rāma who became an ardent devotee of Siva. While visiting various Śaiva places of pilgrimage he once came to Abbalūr which was a strong-hold of Jainism and an influential establishment of the Śaivas. Here he got into controversy with the Jainas, who, led by one of the village-headmen sought to interrupt and put a stop to his devotions. Some wager was made, the terms of it being recorded in writing in a palmyra-leaf, on the result of which the Jainas staked their god and their faith. Rāmayya won the wager. But the Jainas refused to do what they had pledged themselves to do, namely to destroy their Jina and set up a Siva instead of it. Consequently Rāmayya himself overturned the Jina-mūrti and laid waste the shrine. The Jainas then complained to Bijjala who sent for Rāma and questioned him as to why he had committed an outrage on the Jainas. Thereupon Rāmayya produced the writing on the palmyra-leaf, and asked Bijjala to deposit it in his treasury, and offered that, if the Jainas would wager once again he would repeat the feat which he had already once accomplished. The miracle which Rāmayya successfully performed was to this effect. After singing the praise of Siva he cut off his own head and laid it at the feet of Siva. On the seventh day the head came back to him and he was again alive. The Jainas would not face the test again. So Bijjala, laughing at them, dismissed them with the advice that thenceforward they should live in peace with their neighbours. Moreover, the king gave

(1) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, pp. 559, 563.

a Jayapatra (or certificate of victory) to Rāmayya. Bijjala, fully appreciating the single-minded devotion of Rāmayya, granted to his temple of Vira-Sōmanātha a village. The miracle performed by Rāmayya was repeated before Cālukya Sōmēśvara IV in a public assembly, and he similarly made a grant of another village to the same temple. And finally, the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kāmadēva summoned Rāmayya to Hāngal and made a similar grant.¹ Eliminating the supernatural agency, nothing is inconsistent in this account.

To Basava, however, belongs the real credit of popularizing the Viraśaiva faith and giving it a new turn by his novel doctrines. Some incidents from his life are found narrated in many Kannada works such as *Basava Purāṇa*, *Cannabasava-Purāṇa*, *Singi-Rāja-Purāṇa*, *Basavarājadēva-Ragaḷe*, *Vrashabhendra-Vijaya* and *Bijjala-Rāya-Cāritra*. Of these the first two are famous as they form the sacred literature of the Lingāyats. According to these Purāṇas: the traditional story of Basava is as follows:—

There lived in Bāgēwāḍi in the Bijapur district a certain Brāhmaṇa Mādīrāja and his wife Mādālāmbika. A son was born to them who, being an incarnation of Nandī, was named Basava. When the usual time of the sacred-thread ceremony arrived, Basava, then eight years of age, refused to be invested with the Yajñōpaveeta, declaring himself as one who had come to destroy the distinctions of caste on earth. Baladēva, the maternal uncle of Basava, who was the prime-minister of Bijjala was much pleased with his nephew's singular wisdom and piety, and gave him his daughter Gangādēvi in marriage.² In course of time, the Brāhmaṇas began to persecute Basava for the novel practices propounded by him. As a result of this, Basava was

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, V, pp. 245-252.

(2) Summaries of these purāṇas have been published in the *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. VIII. (3) *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, VIII, p. 67.

compelled to leave his town. He then went to a village named Kappaḍi and spent his early life in attaining knowledge at the feet of god Sangamēśvara. Meanwhile, Baladēva died; and the king was pleased to appoint Basava in his father-in-law's place. Basava did not readily accept the office, but at last, with the hope that the influence attached to the post would help him in propagating his doctrines, he accepted the offer and consequently became the prime minister. The king now gave Basava his younger sister Nīlalōcanā in marriage with a view to bind him as closely as possible¹.

Basava had a sister Nāgalāmbika who had a son called Cannabasava or Basava the beautiful, who was considered as the incarnation of Sanmukha the son of Siva. Both Basava and Cannabasava began to propagate with great energy the doctrines of their new faith, helped by the political position in which they were placed. Bijjala had another minister by name Mancanna who was the enemy of Basava. Basava used to spend large sums of money from the king's treasury to support the Lingāyat priests called Jangamas. Taking this as a favourable opportunity, Mancanna informed the king of the expenditure incurred by Basava². Thus, Basava's behaviour naturally aroused in Bijjala, who was a Jain, feelings of uneasiness and distrust. And at last an event occurred which ended in the murder of Bijjala and the death of Basava.

At Kalyāṇa, there were two pious Lingāyats named Halleyaga and Madhuvayya whom Bijjala caused to be blinded: Thereupon Basava left Kalyāṇa for Kūḍala Sangamēśvara and ordered Jagaddēva to murder the king. Jagaddēva with the help of two friends succeeded in entering the palace and stabbed Bijjala. As a result of this, civil war ensued in the city; and hearing this Basava was absorbed in the God Sangamēśvara.³

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 68 (2) *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, VIII, p. 70. (3) *Ibid.*, p. 96.

The Jain account gives a different version. It states that Basava had a very beautiful sister whom the king took as a concubine. As to the murder of Bijjala, it gives us the following information: The King had been on an expedition to Kolhapur to subdue the Silāhāra Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara who perhaps rose against his overlord. On his way back to Kalyāṇa, a Jangama sent by Basava and disguised as a Jain presented the king with a poisoned fruit. As soon as the king smelted in, he became senseless and died. When lying on his death bed, Bijjala called his son in his presence and asked him to take revenge putting Basava to death. Immadi Bijjala accordingly began to hunt out the Jangamas and persecuted them ruthlessly. On hearing this Basava, to save his own life, fled to Ulavi and committed suicide by throwing himself in a well. Cannabasava however surrendered all his uncle's property and was admitted to royal favour¹.

The story, as narrated in the *Basavaṃśa-deva-Ragale* differs in many points from the accounts given above. In the *Ragale* we are told that Basava lost his parents early in his boyhood and was brought up by his grand-mother. He was staying with her until he was sixteen when he realized the mission of his life and consequently left Bagewādi in search of knowledge, casting aside the sacred thread, which he wore². Baladēva the uncle of Basava is not at all mentioned in this work. Basava is said to have entered the services of one Siddha-Dandēśa, the treasurer of Bijjala, on an annual pay of one hundred and one honnus. After the death of Siddha-Dandēśa, Basava was raised to the position of the treasurer³. As to the murder of the king, the account states that Basava was responsible for it⁴.

(1) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 481.

(2) *Basavarajadeva-Ragale*, Sthala II.

(3) *Basavaraja-deva-Ragale*, Sthala 5.

(4) *Sreenivasa Moorthy, Bhakti-Bhandari Basavannanavarū* p. 85.

It is to be remembered that the Purāṇas are full of doctrinal expositions, recitals of mythology and super-natural elements including the miracles worked by Basava. We therefore attach very little importance to them as a source of historical information. Dr. Fleet has the following remarks on these works :—"There are, however, no apparent reasons for attributing, either to the Lingāyat Purāṇas, or the Jain poem, any greater historical accuracy than other Hindu works of the same class have been found to possess. And on the contrary, there are fair grounds for questioning the correctness of the narratives given by them. The Lingāyat and the Jain accounts differ very markedly; to a far greater extent than can be accounted for on simply the supposition of a representation of the facts from different sectarian points of view"¹. Moreover, the Purāṇas and the Jain poems were composed centuries after the time they treat of. *Basava Purāṇa* belongs to the later half of the fourteenth century², *Canṇa Basava-Purāṇa* to the close of the sixteenth³, and *Bijjaḷa Rāya Chāritra* to the middle of the seventeenth⁴.

We are, however, concerned with the ideals for which Basava stood rather than with the mere details of his life. Yet, before trying to understand his doctrines, it is but necessary that we should have a correct idea of the sort of man that he was. By some strange co-incidence of fate Basava is known to history as a great religious reformer on the one hand, and a base murderer on the other. This charge levelled against him has to be carefully examined in the light of reason before the verdict is finally pronounced by the historian. Scholars who readily believe in the sectarian Purāṇas and accounts of a rival sect naturally think that Basava was the instigator of Bijjaḷa's murder. Dr. Bhandarkar

(1) *Fleet, Kanaree Dynasties*, p. 481.

(2) *Narasimhacharya, Karnataka Kavi Charite*, Vol. II, p. 36.

(3) *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, VIII, p. 221; *Narasimhacharya, Karnataka Kavi Charite*, Vol. II, p. 309. (4) *Narasimhacharya, O. C.*, p. 417.

belongs to this class of writers when he clearly says that "the principle incidents, however, may be relied on as historical" ¹.

Dr. Fleet, as quoted above, completely ignores the Purāṇas and does not even believe in the murder of Bijjala. From an inscription found at Belgāmve he draws the conclusion that Bijjala was not the reigning king at the time of his death, and that he had abdicated in favour of his eldest son Rāyamurāri ². To this Mr. Sreenivasa Moorty says that Dr. Fleet's interpretation of the words used in the inscription is not correct, and further proves from epigraphical records that Rāyamurāri Sōvidēva was set upon the throne by a certain general Mādhava who killed the reigning king Karṇadēva, the grandson of Bijjala ³. As we are not at all concerned with the political history of the Kalacūris, we do not enter into the controversy. Accepting Mr. Sreenivasa Moorty's conclusions, which seem to be more reasonable, we believe in the murder of Bijjala. Then the next question as to who was responsible for it naturally arises.

In our opinion, if such traditional accounts written either with a blind faith to one's own religion (as in the case of the Lingāyat Purāṇas), or with an enmity to other's creed (as in the case of the Jaina poem), are to be always believed, then the history of India will have to be revised. If we believe in the cruelty of Basava shown to Bijjala why not also believe the story told by the monks of Ceylon that the Emperor Aśōka slaughtered 98 or 99 brothers in order to clear his way to the throne ?⁴

To this inquiry Dr. Smith answers that the story is "absurd and false" ⁵ "The grotesque tales about Aśōka's

(1) Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 93.

(2) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, pp. 476-477 and 484.

(3) Sreenivasa Moorty, *Bhakti Bhandhari Basavannavaruru*, pp. 84-92.

(4) V. A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 93. (5) *Ibid.*

alleged abnormal wickedness prior to his conversion to Buddhism, which were current in the north as well as in the south are equally baseless and obviously concocted for the purpose of edification".¹ This is the opinion of Dr. Smith. How is it, then, that the doctor came to such a conclusion? What are his sources besides the traditional lore? These are the questions that one may naturally ask. To this the doctor replies that "the only sound foundation for his (Aśoka's) history is to be found in his numerous and wonderful inscriptions".² These inscriptions, as we all know, are full of Aśoka's preachings, instructions and sermons which he addressed to his subjects from time to time. And the historians have accepted his sayings as the main source of reliable evidence. Similarly, we too have to search after similar sources, if there are any, with a view to understand the real Basava. And fortunately enough we come across a vast body of literature embodying the sayings of Basava which have been recorded by him from time to time "as expressing the thoughts that were passing through his mind". These sayings which are called Vacanas in Kannada very closely resemble the sermons of Aśoka in the sense that they too were meant to instruct the people. These Vacanas bring the real Basava before our eyes. With the help of these sayings, let us, therefore, proceed to examine whether Basava was a man who could have stooped to such a mean act as to instigate a religious murder.

Basava always preached love for mankind; and had great pity for all living creatures. He says, "Do not kill ... Be not angry. Have no contempt for others. This is internal purity. This is external purity".³

(1) V. A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 93.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 94.

(3) *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LJ, p. 10.

"You should look upon all creatures as yourself If you look upon all lives and souls as equal, will not God make himself one with you? You show mercy to all living creatures, believing that wherever there is life there is God, will not Kūḍala Sangama Dēva come down from Kailāsa and carry you up?"¹ "What is that religion wherein there is no mercy? It is mercy that is wanted for all creatures. It is mercy that is the root of religion".² With these sayings before us, how can we believe that Basava showed no mercy to king Bijjala. Again he would say:—"Ah, I cannot kill animals, nor can I eat their flesh".³ Is it then possible for him who could not even kill an animal to cause a man to be killed?

Basava again and again advises his friends not to be carried away by passions. He asks them never to get angry: "What is the use of being angry with those who are angry with us? How does it matter whether anger is against others or oneself? A man's anger is injurious to his own goodness. It is a fall from wisdom. God Kūḍala Sangama, does the fire in one house burn the neighbouring house without first burning the house where it rose?"⁴ "If I see people talking sixteen to a dozen, glaring with their eyes, tearing their hair and clenching their fists, I am afraid of them and run away. Let me be called coward for running away from them".⁵

Can the historian believe that a man who spoke the above words with deep sincerity would allow himself to be carried away by anger and instigate a murder?

"O my mind, do not hurt others in speech".⁶ "As long as you cannot give up cruelty ... where are you, and where is *linga*?"⁷

(1) *Ibid.*, p. (2) *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LI, p. 10. (3) *Ibid.* (4) *Q. J. M.*, Vol. XXII, p. 41. (5) *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LI, p. 11. (6) *Ibid.*, p. 12 (7) *Ibid.*, p. 10.

Such sayings, which can be quoted easily at length, clearly show that Basava felt a love for mankind. "Love of mankind, pity for mankind, pity indeed for all lives," says Mr. Venkatesha Iyengar, "was the central fact of Basavaṇṇa's religious teachings" ¹. It is therefore beyond all canons of justice and reason to believe that Basava instigated the cruel murder of Bijjala, an act which was so contrary to the great principles that he preached.

Who then is the culprit? And how is it that the Lingayāt writers believed in the alleged part played by Basava? Unless we answer these questions, our defence of Basava cannot be complete.

Whenever a new religious movement comes to be launched, it has to face severe attacks from many quarters. The orthodox element in the society, clinging to its old faith, naturally leads the opposition. Both the parties try to hold their own, and religious enthusiasm gets strong. The mob, regardless of reason, becomes furious, and fanaticism is the result. The same course of events seems to have followed the great religious movement started by Basava. Fanatics arose, and being led by the enraged mob, entered the court and stabbed the king. It is immaterial for our present purpose to know who actually led the mob and murdered the king. Suffice to say that Basava was innocent. The situation had already got out of his hand. He, therefore, left the city with a heavy heart laden with deep sorrow, denouncing the wicked deed committed by his co-religionists.

The news of Bijjala's death spread in the city like wild fire. The fanatics received it with joy. Civil war ensued. Greatly encouraged with its success, the mob wanted to declare that the act of destroying the enemy would amount to a sacred duty to one's religion. And to show that even

(1) *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 42.

Basava approved of it, they naturally invented the story that it was he himself that instigated the murder. The story was soon accepted by the people as true, as the public is always prone to believe such false rumours in excited times. As years rolled on, it assumed the form of tradition. And unfortunately enough, the later Lingāyat writers incorporated it into their accounts, without thinking in the least that the future historians of India would make capital out of it and depict Basava as a mean murderer.

We have seen above that Basava adopted the principle of Ahimsā, and felt a love for all living creatures. Besides being revolutionary, he was a great thinker and a man of remarkable independence and courage. As a social reformer, he was far ahead of his times. The soul-killing caste system of the Hindus was the worst evil from which the society was suffering. Untouchability was playing the havoc, denying even the most elementary rights of mankind to the depressed classes. Basava could not tolerate this injustice. He denounced the Varnāśrama Dharma and raised a voice against it. He rejected the ancient Sastras and appealed to reason. Dry disputations of the Sanskrit Pandits, he hated. Untouchability had no place in his scheme. He condemns the caste system in the following language :

"The Vedas trembled and trembled; the Sāstras retired and stood aside; Logic became dumb; the Āgamas went out and withdrew; for our Kūḍala sangama Dēva dined in the house of Channayya the Holeyā (untouchable)"¹. "None but the ancients can know it. O stop, stop: Only the devotee of God is of the highest caste. Hence no distinction of caste should be observed. He is neither born or unborn. The servant of Kūḍala Sangama Dēva is limitless." In another Vacana he says, "When a devotee comes to

(1) *Ind. Ant.*, Vol., LI, p. 40. (2) *Ibid.*

my house, with the symbol of God on his person, if I then ask him what his caste is, I adjure Thee by Thy name, I adjure Thee by the name of Thy Pramathas, let my head be a fine, let my head be a fine, O Kūḍala Sangama Dēva".¹

Basava was not simply a preacher. He was a servant of the poor, the outcaste and the down-trodden. He raised them up from their degradation and assigned to them their due place in society. He declared that the Brahmanas had no special sanctity and boldly asserted that every body was entitled to reach the highest goal. His only ambition in life was the service of the people. This is how he expresses it: "Instead of making me a golden crown over a temple tower, on which crows drop dirt, make me a leather shoe to be trod on by the masters"², "I desire not the height of Brahma. Nor do I desire the position of Vishnu, nor of Siva. I desire no height but this. Grant that I may know the feet of your saints, O God Kūḍala Sangama."³

Basava admitted everybody to his creed and asked him to forget his caste. His influence was so great that marriages between Brahmans and even Pancamas took place. This was a severe blow to the supremacy of Brahmans. He denied expiatory ceremonies, sacrificial rites, religious formalisms, and discouraged religious observances such as pilgrimages and fasts. Purity of mind does not come from the ceremonials. "Brethren, says he, "bathing in the stream and washing your self, bathe and wash yourself of the sin of living with strange women, of the lust for another's money, wash yourself of these. My Lord Kūḍala Sangama, if they give up not these but bathe in the stream, the stream will have run in vain for them."⁴

His protest against Brahmanical sacrifices is emphatic. He would condemn them in the most powerful language.

(1) *Ibid.*(2) *Ibid.*, p. 12.(3) *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 35.(4) *Ibid.*, p. 38.

"Leave it alone, that horse-sacrifice, leave it alone, that initiation into the Ajapa mantra. Leave it alone, that offering in fire, and those counting of Gāyatri spell. Leave them alone, those charms and incantations for bewitching people."¹ "Our Kūḍala Sangama Dēva is not pleased with those thread-bearers that repeat the "mantra" of cutting necks of other creatures."²

Basava classified Astrology, Devils and Omen together and asked the people not to believe in them. Superstition and astrology were denounced. On one occasion he gives the following piece of advice :—"With one who knows not the subtle path of God, the time of the eclipse is far superior to the twenty-four to this. The fast day is far superior to Sankrānta. Sacrificial offerings, and the daily rites are far superior to Vyatipāta: But to one who constantly mediates on Kūḍala Sangama Dēva, such meditation is far superior to innumerable countings of mantras and the performance of severe penances."³

Basava did not believe in Tapas and Sanyāsa and such tortures in the name of discipline. "He had no faith in denying the facilities that god has given to man."⁴

He preached that everyone must work and none should beg, even the Jangamas, the Lingāyat priests. He adopted the principle of self-help and exhorted his followers to stand independent. Not to work is to commit sin, and to displease god. He voices these principles in his Vacanas thus. "Mere strings of words such as "god is the soul of all created beings 'will never do, instead of the work which is your duty.....You ought to work for the servants of Kūḍala Sangama Dēva."⁵ Again he says, "You yourself ought to work with an eager mind. You yourself ought to work, labouring with your body. If you do not work with

(1) *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LI, p. 39. (2) *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LI, p. 39. (3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 87. (5) *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LI, p. 54.

your body, how will Kūḍala Sangama Dēva be pleased with you."¹ "I labour in my fields for the sake of my masters. I trade for the sake of God. I accept service with others for the sake of servants. For, I know that whatever Karma I form Thou dost subject me to the enjoyment of the fruit of that karma."²

Mr. C. V. Vaidya rightly maintains that Basava was almost the first Indian thinker who preached the dignity of labour and stopped all beggary. "He alone preached that only Kāyaka (work) led to Kailasa."³

Basava laid a strict moral code for the Vīrasūivas. He advised them to give up meat and liquor, and his voice was heard. This was a great achievement. It was not easy for those converts who came from the lower classes to become strict vegetarians. But the sincerity underlying his preachings was so deep, that his people could not but follow him.

According to Basava, women possess the same social privileges as men. All wearers of Linga irrespective of their sex were proclaimed equal in the eyes of god. Just as man has the right to choose his wife, so has woman to select her husband after she attains her age. Hence child-marriage becomes impossible. Widows were allowed to marry. Woman underwent the same religious ceremony as man, and the Lingāyat woman is as high as Lingayāt man.

Needless to emphasize that Basava believed in one god whom he calls universal.

"Ah, wherever I look, there thou art, O God :—Thou Thyself art one with a universal eye. Thou Thyself art one with universal arms. Thou Thyself art one with universal feet, O Kūḍala Sangama Dēva."⁴

(1) *Ibid.* (2) *Ibid.*

(3) C. V. Vaidya, *History of Medieval Hindu India*, Vol. III, p. 431.

(4) *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LI, p. 38.

Basava contributed much for the enrichment of Kannada culture. He not only founded a new sect, but did a good deal for the language of his province. His message was not for the Pandit trained in metaphysical discussions. He appealed to the heart of the common people in their own tongue. He spoke pithy words of advice in chaste Kannada. His Vacanas may be rightly called as the Upanishads of not only the Virasaivas but of all Kannaḍigas. Basava compares favourably well with Buddha in many respects. Both the teachers preached ahimsā; both of them worked for the uplift of the fallen; both of them condemned the caste-system and both the thinkers chose the vernaculars of the people to propagate their doctrines.

Dr. Bhandarkar seems to have completely misunderstood Basava whom he describes as only "A strenuous supporter" of an already existing creed.¹ The Doctor perhaps did not go to the Vacanas where alone the original and real Basava with his novel ideas and ideals can be seen. What is more, the Jangamas, who helped Basava in the propagation of his creed, are styled by him as a "profligated class."² This view is entirely unsupported and uncorroborated by authentic evidence. It appears to be the work of his imagination. It might be that a few of the Jangamas were not keeping up to their principles, as it is the case in almost every organisation. But to maintain that the whole class was "leading a profligate life" is certainly a prejudice. It was only with the help of these missionaries that Basava was able to build up a large community of his followers within a very short time. What the Buddhist monks did for the spread of their religion, the Jangamas did for Virasaivism on a smaller scale. Let it be remembered that nowhere in the world a band of profligate loafers ever helped in the

(1) Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism and Saivism*, p. 130.

(2) Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 94.

foundation of a religious sect. Dr. Bhandarker's view is not only erroneous but irrational.

"In any history of Indian religion", holds Mr. Venkatesha Iyengar, "Basavaṇṇa is sure to be given a prominent place. In the history of human religion his place cannot be very different. He came into the midst of a movement for reform; he became the leader of the movement; put faith into thousands and thousands of his generation and established on a firm basis a creed that to-day is accepted by three million people and more. The Vecrasūva movement was essentially a popular movement. It developed a school of poor priests. It abolished the old priestly class. It adopted the vernacular as the medium for inculcating the highest truth to the populace. It gave to women an important place in religious and social life. It set out with the ideal of realisation of every individual, high and low. Much of the credit of these characteristics of the movement should without doubt go to Basavaṇṇa who first defined the directions in which its work should develop."¹

We conclude that Basava is perhaps the greatest man that Karnataka had produced. He belongs to the galaxy of those reformers of the world who from time to time toiled for the uplift of the fallen humanity in order to save it from ignorance, superstition and degradation.

(1) See *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 44.

CHAPTER X.

EDUCATION AND LEARNING

It seems that there was a wide diffusion of literacy and learning in the Cālukyan Karnāṭaka. The very existence of a vast body of epigraphical records bears impressive testimony to this fact. Perhaps no other part of India is so rich in inscriptions as the Kannada country. We have nearly three hundred epigraphs engraved in the reign of Vikramāditya VI alone. Kings, chiefs, nobles and the people would not have taken the trouble to inscribe in hard stone and copper, if the people were not able to read the inscriptions. Thus we see that almost every village had records which the inhabitants were able to read and understand. Moreover many of the epigraphs, specially the "vīragals" of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, are composed in simple homely colloquial Kannada.¹ This was because many of them were written by the village folk who formed the agricultural class. It was this wide spread of literacy that popularized learning and literature even in those times when the printing press was still unknown.

Educational Endowments

Many of the inscriptions that have been discovered refer to grants and gifts made to impart elementary and higher education, as well as to provide every facility to students who were undergoing the course of instruction. These grants were made not only by the ruling monarchs and their feudatories, but also by the rich individuals and the higher officials of the state. Thus the Baisa chieftain Prithvirām gave eighteen *nivartanas* of land to the shrine of Jinēndra

(1) For specimens of this type of inscriptions see the Sinda inscriptions published in the *Epigraphia Carnatica* Vol. VII.

which was an abode of learning and religion.¹ Kārtavīrya IV of the same dynasty granted in all fifteen thousands of *kammas* of land to the five mathas in Nēsarige along with rings, ornaments and cloths for the teachers.² Nāgadeva, a minor feudatory of Sōmēśvara I (Cālukya), gave an entire village to a Saiva teacher to meet the expenses maintaining "ascetics, professors, students, public women and artisans."³ Similarly Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rācamalladēva of the Sindavamsa made a grant to the Saiva divine Nirvāṇidēva of the Elkōṭi Cakravarti Matha at Sindagere.⁴

Grants of similar nature by wealthy and philanthropic individuals have been recorded in many inscriptions.⁵ These records clearly show that there were many charitable institutions where poor students had their boarding free. People knew fully well the importance of learning; and it was a regular custom among them to make liberal endowments for the spread of education and culture. A gift for education was known as *Vidyādāna*.⁶

Women were so much interested in the spread of education and the propagation of culture that many queens are recorded to have made large endowments on educational institutions. An inscription at Cinnatumbalam registers that the chief-queen Malayamatidēvi gave to the one hundred and forty Mahājanas of that place 30 *gadyāṇas* of gold from the *siddhāya* of that village for the maintenance of the commentator on Śāstras, the reader of the Purāṇas, the teacher of the Rīgvēda and the Yajurvēda and the

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta chieftains of Saundatti an Belgaum*, J. B. E. R. A. S. Y., p. 200.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 257.

(3) Barnett, *Inscriptions of Budī, Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV. p. 86.

(4) A. R. of S. I. E. for 1914, No., 208.

(5) A. R. of S. I. E. for 1927-28, No. E, 276 and No. E. 273
A. R. S. I. E. for 1928-29, No. E, 80.

(6) A. R. of S. I. E. for 1928-29, No. R. 80.

Brāhmaṇa in charge of the Agnishtige.¹ Akkādēvi the Cālukya princess granted to the agrahāra of Pērūr 3 *mattars* of land for the purpose of feeding the students.² The emperor Bhuvanaikamalladēva, it is said, at the request of his queens Rēvaḷādēvi and Mailaḷādēvi granted to Surēśvara Paṇḍita a plot of land for the purposes of education.³

From these inscriptions it is crystal clear that endowments were made from time to time to preserve the institution, to feed the lecturers and professors, and lastly to maintain the students. One peculiar feature of these endowments was the mixing up of educational grants with those for general charitable purposes. The general result of this indiscriminate mixing up of students and others may have been that the charities gradually lost their original educational character. This was more so after the disappearance of the Cālukya power from the history of Karnataka. This mixing up of the temple funds went on increasing in every century till we come to very recent times. Prof. S. V. Venkatesvara⁴ truly remarks that it would be a triumph of epigraphical research in South Indian history, if educational endowments could be disentangled and differentiated from the vast *satra* and temple funds of the present day, and their proceeds earmarked for education, in keeping with the purpose of the founders.

Religion, it seems, played a very important part in the cultural life of ancient Karnataka. Hence we find the mixing up of education with religion. And the religious

(1) *A. R. of S. I. E.* for 1916, No. B. 518.

(2) *Fleet, Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 275.

(3) *A. R. of S. I. E.* for 1927-28, No. B. 9.

(4) S. V. Venkatesvara, *Indian Culture Through the Ages*, Vol. I., pp. 281-282.

sense of the people was quite sound and even "modern" in its tendencies. They thought that the temples of gods were the temples of learning. Education was as sacred to their hearts as religion itself. They understood the secret of serving god by serving man.

The State and Education

We have already seen that kings, chiefs, ministers and other high officers made liberal endowments to educational institutions. It would not have been possible for private individuals to build a healthy system of education without the help of the state. It is on account of this royal patronage that education could be broadcast in almost every village in ancient Karnataka. A number of inscriptions tell us that the Cakravartis, Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras, the Mahāpradhānas, the Daṇḍanāyakas and the Mahāsāmāntādhipatis were great patrons of education, learning and literature.

Some of the educational institutions, especially the agrahāras, were under the direct control of the members of the imperial family or the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras. Thus the Ponnavaḍā agrahāra was under the management of Kētalādēvi the wife of Sāmēśvara I.¹ Similarly Lakshmīdēvi, the queen of Vikramāditya the Great, was the manager of some agrahāras in A. D. 1109.² Prior to her they were under the control of Bammadēva the trusted feudatory of Vikramāditya.³ But usually the agrahāras were managed by private individuals. Though the state provided facilities for education and helped it with funds, it rarely interfered with the organisation, management or the methods of teaching.

These institutions, in the majority of cases, were in the hands of the Mahājanas constituting the village

(1) Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, Ind. Ant., XVIII, p. 273. (2) *Ibid.* (3) Fleet, *Kan. Dynasties*, p. 448.

assembly.¹ Sometimes very able and efficient teachers themselves looked after the management of the schools, even though royal grants were made to such institutions.² These can be conveniently called the "grant-in-aid" schools, to use the modern educational terminology. The first type which was under the direct control of the state was very rare. We can compare this type to the modern government schools and colleges. The remaining type which was looked after by the Mahājanas was the most common. Almost every village assembly (Mahājanas) had its own school. It was something like the school maintained by the municipalities and the local boards of our own day. This comparison, of course, is not complete, and it cannot be so. It is, however, true that there was greater freedom of action and thought in the educational system of those times. Endowments for learning made by the kings and chiefs were given away unconditionally as Vidyābhogamas or Vidyādānams. The grant of land to Surēśvara Paṇḍita by the Cālukya Emperor Bhuvanaikamalladēva is a good instance point.³ Some of the great universities such as the agrahāra of Belgāmi were autonomous bodies free from the governmental control. It is even said that the professors had political influence and took part in the affairs of the state.

Agrahāra.

Coming to the various types of educational institutions we may classify them under five heads—agrahāra, brahmapuri, ghatikā-sthāna, matha and dēvālaya or temple. The first three of these were institutions where education of an advanced type was disseminated. The matha and the temple were the agencies where both the primary and

(1) *A. R. S. I. E.* for 1937-8, No. E. 84.

(2) *Ibid.*, No. B. 9.

(3) *A. R. S. I. E.*, 1927-28, No. B. 9.

'higher' education was imparted. We propose to describe each of these types in the light of inscriptions that have come down to us.

The most important centre of education and learning was the Agrahāra. It was a colony of learned Brahmins, and a corporate body with its own means of maintenance granted to it by generous donors, and powers of self government.¹ It was an independent body as regards its resources and internal control. As we have already seen elsewhere, its working was not interfered with by the central government. The administration of the agrahāra was vested in the Mahājanas constituting the village assembly.² It was in these agrahāras that education of the University standard was disseminated. Students from the surrounding villages flocked to these agrahāras in order to receive learning and culture. They were open to all students of every faith and race.³ That these institutions existed throughout the period of our study, we find from frequent mention of them in inscriptions.

It seems that they were distributed over all parts of the Kannada country. Epigraphs show that they were at least sixteen in number. Rūli in the Belgaum district was one of them. Naragund in the Dharwar district was another and Ḍambaḷ in the same district was the third.⁴ The fourth was at Kuppaiṭūr,⁵ the fifth at Tālagunda,⁶ the sixth at Pērūr,⁷ the seventh at Ponnavaḍa,⁸ the eighth was at

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 100; *E. C.* VII, Sk. 176; *Ep. Car.*, VII, 86, 262, 263.

(2) *A. R. S. I. E.* for 1927-28, No. 84.

(3) *EP. Car.*, VII, SK., 176.

(4) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, P. 443, note 4.

(5) *EP. Car.*, VIII, Sb., 249 and Sb., 276.

(6) *EP. Car.*, VII, Sk. 176 and Rice, *Mys. Inscr.*, 103.

(7) Fleet, *Sanskrit & Old Canarese Inscriptions*, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, P. 271.

(8) *Ibid.*, XIX, P. 269.

Kirimīḍi,¹ the ninth at Bēgūr,² the tenth was at Aihole,³ the eleventh at Sayyāḍi, the twelfth at Arasīkare, the thirteenth at Kirgunḍi,⁴ the fourteenth at Nēraḷige.⁵ the fifteenth at Dēgāmve.⁶ Lastly the most distinguished among them all was the famous agrahāra at Belgāmi in the Shikārpur Tālukā of the Śimoga district.⁷

An agrahāra in ancient times meant a group of houses built by a person and granted as a gift to Brahmans with the object of securing "dharma". It is commented by some modern writers that the establishment of an agrahāra was inspired by a belief that the donor would ensure a happy and long existence in the next world which he was supposed to reach after his death.⁸ Though there is an element of truth in this statement, it cannot be said that the only object of the establishment of an agrahāra was the acquisition of merit. Because we know from the Tālagunda inscription that the Kadamba King Mukkaṇṇa, not finding a Brahman family in the south, imported from the north thirty-two Brahman families whom he settled in the Agrahāra of Tālagunda near Belgāme.⁹ This inscription does not say that Mukkaṇṇa did this as an act of attaining *punya*. The real motive of the king was evidently the desire to promote education in his country by founding an

(1) Fleet, *Notes on Indian History & Geography Ind. Ant.* XXX, P. 267.

(2) *EP, Car*, VII, Sk., 14-18.

(3) Fleet, *Notes on Indian History & Geography, Ind. Ant.* XXX, P. 267.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *A. R. M. A. D.* 1923, p. 36.

(6) Fleet, *Inscriptions relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa, J. B. H. R. A. S.*, IX, PP. 275-276.

(7) *EP, Car*, VII, Sk. 124.

(8) This view is held by Dr. Venkatsubbayya, M. A. Ph. D., See *Q. I. M. S.*, VII, P. 162.

(9) *EP, Car*, VII, Sk. 186.

agrahāra of learned Brahmins.¹ Thus, it is a mistake to hold that the establishment of an agrahāra in ancient Karnataka was not in the least prompted by the noble idea of advancing learning.

The agrahāras were of considerable dimensions, deriving their maintenance from many villages. The Tālagunda Agrahāra, it is recorded, received its income of 144 villages granted to it by the King Mayūravarṇa Kādamba as fees for as many as eighteen horse sacrifices which he celebrated.² This Agrahāra contained 32,000 Brahmins with 12,000 Agnihōtras.³ The University at Bēgūr was so big that it had 1,300 Brahmins.⁴ Similarly the Agrahāra at Kuppattūr was in a flourishing condition, throughout the eleventh and the twelfth centuries.⁵ The university centre of Belgāmi was so extensive in area, that the town was divided into two sections—Hiriya (big) Balligāve and Kiriya (small) Balligāve.⁶

The glories of many of these agrahāras did not live long after the disappearance of the Cālukya Empire. The twelfth century witnessed the great Virāṣaiva revival throughout the Kannada country, superseding the Jains and ousting the Brahmins. Hence the growth of such extensive university organisation was almost a necessity for the preservation of Brahmanical culture. But at least

(1) Even Dr. Vankatasubbayya admits that Mukkanna's motive was purely educational and not religious. See *Q. I. M. S.* VII-P. 164.

(2) *EP. Car.* ; VII, 177, 178, 185.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *EP. Car.*, VII, Sk., 14, 18.

(5) *EP. Car.*, VIII, Sb., 249, 262, 276.

(6) *EP. Car.*, VIII, Sb., 276, VII, Sk, 96, 123. This system of dividing towns or big villages into two sections continues even to this day. For example, the village Algeri, in the Ankola Taluka of the North Kanara district, is divided into Dodda (big) Algeri and Sanna (small) Algeri.

a few of them flourished as late as the end of the eighteenth century under the patronage of Mysore Oḍayers.¹

The Agrahāras which we have to-day in some parts of Karnataka are only in names. Twelve of them exist in the royal city of Mysore. The modern agrahāras have long ceased to be educational. They are no more centres of enlightenment and culture.

Brahmapuri

The other important centre of education was the Brahmapuri. It was a settlement of learned Brahmins i. e. parts of towns. We know from the epigraphs that the city of Balligāve (Belgāmi) contained seven such Brahmapuris, three Puras and five Mathas.² It seems that there was not much difference between the Brahmapuri and the Agrahāra. According to Dr. Venkatasubbaya, it differed from an agrahāra in this respect that the latter formed a co-operate village by itself while the former was a part of the city or town.³ Further there is no evidence to show that the Brahmapuri was a corporate body.

The one special feature of the Brahmapuri was that it conducted regular debates on important subjects. We are told that the Brahmapuri at Belgāmi was the support of poets, disputants, orators and the learned men.⁴ And its Brahmins were "holding aloft the torch of learning".⁵ The record further states that they attained high excellence in linguistics and letters. They "were endowed with all the virtues and with Yama, Niyama, Dhyāna, Dharma, Maunā-

(1) *EP.Car.*, III, Tn, 63.

(2) *EP. Car.*, VII, Sk., 106, 108, 119, 123, VIII, 86, 276.

(3) Vanktasubbayya, *Q.J. M. S.*, VII, P. 167.

(4) *EP.Car.*, VII, Sk, 123.

(5) *Ibid.*

nushthana Japa, Samādhi and were proficient in the six systems of logic.¹

The inscriptions do not throw much light upon the working of the Brahmapuri. This was because of the scarcity of large cities where only these institutions could flourish.

Ghatika

A few of the inscriptions refer to Ghaṭikāsthānas.² The term Ghaṭikā has been variously explained as a place of public assembly for Brahmans, or a religious centre or an educational colony.³ The earliest reference to Ghaṭikā occurs in the Tālagunda inscription which informs us that the Kadamba king Mayūra Śarman went with his Guru to every Ghaṭikā in Kāñchī, desiring to be proficient in Prava-chana; and thus became a quick or ready debator⁴. This conclusively proves that the Ghaṭikā was a debating society inviting Pandits from all parts to scholarly discussions. Another record of A. D. 1182 describes the Ghaṭikās as "supporters of dharma and mines of enjoyment"⁵. An inscription recently discovered at Nāgāi throws a good deal of light on the ghaṭikās. The epigraph clearly says that Madhusūdana of the Varsāṇa family, a subordinate of Sōmēśvara I, founded an educational institution called the ghaṭikaśāla to accommodate two hundred students studying

(1) *Ibid.*

(2) *EP. Car.*, Vol. VII., Sk., 176, 197, 91.

(3) Mr. Pathak translated it as a religious centre. (*Ind. Ant.*, XIV P. 24) Dr. Kielhorn remarks that the Ghatika was something like the brahmapuri (See *EP. Car.*, VII, Intro. P. 8 Note 2.) Mr. Rice holds that it was "some kind of institution", (*EP. Car.*, VII, Intro. P. 8 note 2). Prof. Moraes describes it as the congregation or college of learned men. (*Kadamba Kula*, P. 286). Prof. S. V. Venkatesvara, with references to Ghatikas, that existed in ancient Tamil India, says that it was an "institution of highest learning". (*Indian Culture Through the Ages*, Vol. I, P. 243.)

(4) *EP. Car.*, VII, Sk., 176.

(5) *EP. Car.*, VII, Sk., 197.

the Vedas and fifty-two studying the śāstras. To carry on the function of the institution, he appointed three vedic and three śāstra teachers. Arrangements were made to provide free boarding and lodging¹. From these details it is clear beyond any shadow of doubt that Ghaṭhāsthānas were institutions of education and learning. We have also seen that they were the great debating unions in ancient times.

Matha

The other educational agency that played an important part in ancient Karnataka was the Matha. It was a residential college for students, a free feeding house for the poor and the infirm and a resort of religious men as well as of mendicants.²

As religion was considered inseparable from education in those times, all the Mathas were attached to some temples, or some temples were attached to them. Thus we have two types of mathas. In the former type, religious observances took a prominent place and the students and their education were relegated to the background, while in the later type it was just the opposite. The former was known as Naishṭika Matha. This type was rare on account of the strict discipline to be observed both by the teachers and the students. Moreover the members of the staff had to practise celibacy. We are told in clear words that such teachers who failed to observe these rules were to be instantly expelled and replaced by others.³

Liberal endowments to mathas by kings and chieftains is the subject-matter of many inscriptions.⁴

(1) *Hyder. Arch. Series*, No. 8, P. 28

(2) *EP. Car.*, VII, Sk., 102.

(3) *EP. Car.*, VII, Sk., 276.

(4) *South Ind. EP.*, No. 206,

Rāchamalladēvarasa of the Sinda family made a grant of land to the Śaiva teacher Nirvaṇḍēva of the Ēlkōṭi Chakravartimatha. But even common people patronised such seats of learning. A Brahman lady of Maḍikare, for instance, founded a matha in Chingleput district.¹ It is registered that a wealthy person made a grant of a village to a matha for the maintenance of the students residing in it.²

Sometimes the village Mahājanas founded these institutions. A good instance is that of twelve officers of Muḍamūru who constructed a matha and agreed to conduct worship in it.³ In some cases, a new matha was founded as a branch of an old one. Ēlkōṭi Chakravartimatha, mentioned above, had numerous branches attached to it.⁴ Sometimes a founder of a new matha was the alumni of one of the older institutions. An interesting example of this is furnished by an inscription which records the foundation of a matha in honour of Isanadeva by a lady disciple of his agreeably to her dying husband's instruction.⁵ Many of these mathas were given the names of their founders. Thus the matha built by a certain Karttāra was known as Karttāra matha.⁶

The most important of the mathas in the Chālukya Empire were those of Belagāmi, Kuppatūr, Bāndhavapura and Sindagere. There was a federation of five mathas called "Panchalinga Matha" at Belagāmi,⁷ one of which was the famous Kōḍiya matha. It is described as a great seat of learning and a "Kēdāra (i. e. field) where grow crops in the shape of the hairs of the human body standing

(1) *South Ind. EP.*, 127 and 132 of 1912.

(2) *South Ind. EP.* No. E 267 of 1927-28.

(3) *South Ind. EP.* No. 463 of 1915.

(4) *EP. Car.*, VIII, Sb. 276.

(5) *EP. Car.*, VII, Sk. 126 of Venkatesvara, O. C.

(6) *EP. Car.*, VII, JI. 10.

(7) *EP. Car.*, VII; Sk. 126.

erect from joy at the worship of the Śiva-linga, the place appointed for the performance of the rites of the Śiva Brahmacharin ascetics, the place for the study of the four vedas, namely, the Rig, Yajur, Sāma, Atharva with their Angas.¹ It was the place where commentaries were composed on the Kaumāra, Paṇinīya, Sakatāyana, Sabdānuśāsana, and other grammatical works; where commentaries were written on the nyāya, vaiśeṣikā, mīmāṃsā, sāṅkhya, baudha, and other six systems of philosophy, where books were composed on the Akula Siddhānta, on Patanjala, and other Yōga-sāstras, on the eighteen Purāṇas and the Dharmśāstra, as well as on all kinds of nāṭikā (dancing); the place where food was freely distributed to sufferers (dīnaru), to the destitute, to the lame, the blind, deaf, to story-tellers, singers, drummers, genealogists, dancers, and eulogists, to the naked, the wounded, Kashapanaka (Jain Sanyāsis), Ākandandī, tridandī, hamsa, parama-hamsa, and other beggars from various countries; the place where suitable medicine was dispensed to all various kinds of diseased persons; a place of security from fear for all living things.²

It will be clear from this description that no narrow view of culture was taken by the ancient Kannadigas. Every subject found a place in the curricula of the matha.

Temple

We may now consider the temple as an educational agency which imparted knowledge in ancient times. The real importance of the temple depended upon the fact that unlike the agraḥāra or the matha it disseminated knowledge both to the Paṇḍit (scholar) and the Pāmara (layman). The principle aims and objects of these institutions were religious in character. But in ancient India as religion

(1) *EP. Car.* VII, Sk. 102.

(2) *Rise, Mysore Inscriptions*, No. 43.

embraced every aspect of human life, education naturally found a place in the temple to which was now added a department of public instruction. "The maṇḍapas or porches some of which expended into halls served as class rooms of sacred as well as secular studies".¹ The fact that the temples were the disseminators of learning can be gathered from many inscriptions.² Sometimes separate halls were set apart from different subjects. Such expression as the "vyākaraṇa maṇḍapa" (the hall where grammar was taught) tell us that some of these halls were systematically used for the purpose of holding classes on grammar.³

The priest of the temple was also the teacher of the school. The "archaka" was the "āchārya." As the function of this "archaka" was both religious and educational, care was taken to appoint only such persons possessing high educational qualifications to these posts. An inscription of A. D. 1094| tells us that Sōmēśvara Paṇḍita the "āchārya" of the temple Nakharēśvara was proficient in philosophy, logic, grammar, poetry, drama, music and many other branches of literature and learning.⁴

Now leaving the "temple-school" aside, we have to consider the importance of the temple itself. As for the layman the temple was a great institution where he picked up the morsels of knowledge according to his own understanding. To him the images of gods were of high educative value. The great epics *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, engraved on the walls of the temple,⁵ told him many a heroic tales of his ancient motherland. Similarly the Purāṇas illustrated on the walls narrated to him the

(1) Venkatesvara O. C. P. 271.

(2) *EP. Car.*, VII, Sk, 185, 94; Mk, 29.

(3) Venkatesvara, O. C. P. 271.

(4) *EP. Car.*, VII, Sk, 94.

(5) As on the walls of the temple at Somanathapura.

beautiful stories which formed the folk literature of ancient India. It was here in the temple, the sculptor exhibited his art, the architect showed his skill,¹ the "dēvadāsi" displayed her dancing, and the singers poured their music.² The social life of the village centred round the temple where hundreds of farmers gathered at the festivities celebrated at regular intervals.

Temple in ancient south India was a great Museum. It was in these festive gatherings, that the villagers could see the "objects of show and curiosity, wild animals tamed and confined to a cage, monkeys trained to perform feats, the cobra made to dance a simple music, the elephant in majesty adorned with a howdah and caparisoned in oriental fashion, horses and bullocks drawing the hackneys and stately carriages, to the music of tinkling cymbals on their necks.³ Some of the most important temples attracted hundreds of thousands of men and women on occasions of such gatherings.

Organisation

The very existence of a variety of institutions described above pre-supposes an organisation among the people. The idea of establishing colonies of cultured men (*agrahāras*) in specially selected areas away from the distractions of the busy haunts of men, and selling free their mental energy for the pursuit of knowledge, conclusively proves the active corporate life the Kannaḍigas led in those times. We have already seen elsewhere that many of the schools were managed by the village assembly. Hostels attached to these schools were controlled by the same body. A record registers a grant of land to the two hundred Mahājanas to be utilised for the maintenance of a hostel

(1) As in the temples at Belur and Halebid.

(2) *EP. Car.* XI, Mk; 29

(3) Venkatesvara, O. C. P. 275.

and for other charities.¹ This clearly shows that one of the functions of the village assembly was the promotion of learning in its own area.

The mathas, which served as strongholds and centres of learning, had extensive organisation. The Panchalinga Matha at Belagūmi was a federation of five mathas. Similarly we are told that as many as seventy-seven mathas were affiliated to the central matha of Kuppattur; and the chancellor of this great University was known as Rājaguru Ekkoti Samaya Chakravarti.² The epigraph further records that the senate of this University consisted of one thousand Brahmans.

Besides the various educational institutions, (agrahāra, brahmapuri, ghaṭikā, matha and the temple) which were mainly Brahmanical, there were extensive Jaina organisations whose aims and objects were the promotion of religion, education and culture. These organisations, democratic in character, spread far and wide in and outside Karnataka, and many sub-associations were affiliated to the central one. To mention a few famous among them were the Dramiṇa Sangha,³ Nandi gaṇa,⁴ Mūla Sangha,⁵ Krānūra gaṇa,⁶ Tintriṇi gachchha,⁷ Kunda-Kundānvaya,⁸ Arungaṇānvaya,⁹ Pustaka-gachecha,¹⁰ Kaumudī-gaṇa,¹¹ Yāpaniya, Sangha,¹² Tālakōlān-vaya,¹³ Sēna-gaṇa,¹⁴ and Pogari-gachchha.¹⁵ We are told that

(1) *South Ind. EP*, 1927-28, No. E, 84,

(2) *EP, Car*, VIII, Sb, 276,

(3) *Mys. Arch. Dept*, Report for 1926, P. 51

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *EP, Car*, VIII, Sb, 159.

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) *Ibid.*

(8) *EP, Car*, VIII, Sb, 233

(9) *EP, Car*, VIII, Sb, 159

(10) *EP, Car*, XII, Ck, 21

(11) *South Ind. EP*, for 1925, No. C, 441

(12) *Ibid.*

(13) *EP, Car*, VII, Sk, 124

(14) *Ibid.*

(15) *Ibid.*

in a certain "Nandi gaṇa" which was a branch of the "illustrious Dramiṇa sangha" and "Irungalānvaya" were several learned men well versed in all the branches of Knowledge.¹ It seems that this Sangha was so extensive in its territorial limits that it may be aptly called as inter-provincial or rather international, if we consider the different empires of ancient South India as different sub-nations based more or less on linguistical and cultural variations. The word "Dravila" (used here) clearly indicates the ancient Tamil and hence the Tamilians. This illustrious Dramiṇa Sangha of the Tamilians found many patrons and followers in the Karnataka, and a Kannada branch called Nandi Sangha was perhaps established. We call this Sangha international as it comprised the two great sub-nations of Dravidian India namely the Tamil Nāḍ and the Karnatak.

Discipline

It may be interesting to note that strict discipline was enforced among the members of the teaching staff. This was more so with the Kāṇāmukhaeya mathas. The ancients rightly believed that discipline brings seriousness and seriousness leads to efficiency. Moreover the Guru was considered as an example worthy to be followed by the śishya. The imprecations at the end of an epigraph² clearly show the strict vigour which the teachers of the early śaiva sect had to observe. It is stated that the ascetics must punish the wicked in their congregation and drive them out of the monastery. "The monastery will always be placed for those who follow strict discipline (nistha)",³ Such ascetics as to go astray giving up their Brahmacharya (celibacy) "must be expelled by the ruling king, the chief officer and the twelve great men (mahājanas)"⁴

(1) *Mys. Arch. Dept.*, Report for 1926, P, 51

(2) *South Ind. EP.*, No. 524 of 1914.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

of the village and replaced by better teachers of the same faith.

Hostels for Students

The modern educational system recognises the necessity of residential Universities in India. The idea is neither foreign nor new to us. When we study the history of our ancient motherland, our heart leaps with joy to find numerous residential colleges that flourished in bygone days. Many of the inscriptions that have come to light record either the foundation of hostels (for students) or grants made to them.¹ Some of these hostels provided free board, lodging and sometimes clothing to poor and deserving students, the expenses being met from the endowments made by kings, chiefs, and other wealthy persons, who considered it a sacred duty to help liberally those interested in education. We have already given enough of references to such benefactions and hence it is not necessary to multiply them here.

It may, however, be noted that provision was made for weekly oil baths in some of the hostels,² "who so supplies students with food", thus runs an epigraph, "applies unguents to their bodies, furnishes them with cloths, giving them alms, to him all his desires will be fulfilled".³

Subjects of Study

We now come to the subjects of study. The inscriptions are rich in this respect. They supply us such minute details, that we can make a complete list of the subjects then taught. The traditional subjects that were in use

(1) Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, No. 102; *EP. Car.*, VII, Sk. 19; *South Ind. EP.*, for 1927-28, No. E. 267; for 1928-29, Nos. E. 80 and E. 233.

(2) Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, No. 102.

(3) *Ibid.*

from the very ancient times all over India continued to be studied in the Chālukyan Karnataka as well. They were ten in number, namely the four Vēdas—Rig, Yajus, Sāman, Atharva, and the six vēdāṅgas or the limbs of Vēda comprising Phonetics (Sikshā), grammar (Vyākaraṇa), Prosody (Chhandas), Etymology and interpretation (Nirukta), Astronomy (Jyōtisha), and Ritual (Kalpa). To these were later added a few more subjects. These were the Itihāsas and Purāṇas, forming the fifth Vēda, Dēva-Vidyā, Bhūta-Vidyā, Nakshatra-Vidyā, Sarpadēvayajana-vidyā and seven others. By the increase of learning, it was later on recognised that the sum total of human knowledge was comprised in the fourteen and eighteen sciences. The fourteen Vidyās or sciences are the four vēdas and the six vēdāṅgas mentioned above, together with mīmāṃsā (principles of Vēdic Exegesis), Nyāya (Logic and Dialectics), Purāṇa, and Dharmasāstra (Law).

The above fourteen together with the four upavēdas formed the eighteen Vidyās or sciences. The Upavēdas comprised medicine (Āyurvēda), the science of weapons (Dhanurvēda), Music (Gandharvavēda), and the technical subjects like carpentry and architecture. These eighteen Vidyās were regarded as covering the whole field of human knowledge. The *Padma Purāṇa* adds to these the "Kalas". With slight variations to the changed times and conditions, many of these subjects were studied during the days of the Chālukya Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras. This conclusion can be easily arrived at, by reading the various inscriptions that have come to light.

Turning to the epigraphs we find that the above mentioned curriculum of studies was followed in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries in Karnataka. Instruction was given in all the śāstras, grammar, logic, philosophy, literature, drama (nāṭak), medicine, lexicography, rhetoric, śruti, smṛiti, purāṇa, Itihāsa, mīmāṃsā, nītiśāstra and simila

subjects¹ It is interesting to note that even sorcery or magic was now made a subject which was treated in a scientific manner.² There were six sub-divisions in logic.³ Besides, the art of dancing (nāṭya) which is unfortunately neglected in the modern Indian Universities, was a subject of special study in some of the agrahāras.⁴ It may be mentioned that classical sanskrit along with Kannada was given due attention.⁵ Poetry of Māgha and the grammar by Pāṇini were prescribed as text-books in some of the Mathas.⁶ It is encouraging to note that works relating to politics by Śrī Bhūṣhanāryaka received proper attention.⁷ We are told that political science was studied by kings and chiefs. It is said of a Hoysala king that he was well acquainted with the writings of regal polity by Vātsāyana and Bharata.⁸

Inscriptions frequently refer to the "fourteen branches of learning, the six vēdāṅgas, the four vēdas, logic, dharmaśāstra, Purāṇa and mīmāṃsā."⁹ These were the popular subjects. Institution was also given in the six darśhanas of Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṅkya, Bauddha, Lokāyata, and others.¹⁰ We also get references to sixty four arts of which music and painting were most common.¹¹

In some of the great mathas like that of "Kōḍiya", something like "research work" was being conducted in the higher classes. We are told that there was a research department attached to the Kōḍiya matha where commen-

(1) *A. R. S. I. E.*, for 1914, No. 206.

(2) Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, No. 103.

(3) Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions* No. 46.

(4) Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, No. 43.

(5) *Ind. Ant.* V. P. 42.

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) *Ibid.*

(8) *Ind. Ant.* II, P. 302.

(9) *A. R. M. A. D.* for 1923, P. 36.

(10) *EP. Car.* VII, Sk. 16.

(11) *EP. Car.* V. M. 18.

taries on the Kaumāra Pāṇiniya, Śakaṭāgama, Śabdānuśāsana, and other grammars were composed.¹ Similarly original works on Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, mīmāṃsā, Sāṅkhya, Baudha and other six systems of philosophy were written.² It was here that books were prepared on Akula Siddhānta, on Patanjala, and other Yoga—śāstras, on the eighteen Purāṇas and the dharmasāstras as well as on all kinds of Kāvya and Nāṭaka (drama).³ Thus we see that proper attention was also paid to what we call to-day "research work".

Teachers and their qualifications

When we glance at the big list of subjects that were studied, we are inclined to presume that these subjects were taught by efficient teachers, possessing high qualifications. This presumption of ours can be supported by authentic evidence that is culled from the inscriptions. Ep. Car. VII. Sk. 126, for instance, gives a glowing description of Lakuliśavara Pandita of the Panchalinga matha. It runs as follows :—"Having crossed over to the farthest shore of the ocean of logic, and other sciences, to speakers a Rudra, a young lion in splitting the skull of the elephant speakers, a wild fire to the great forest speakers, a fierce and a powerful tiger to evil speakers, a submarine fire to Budha ocean, a thunderbolt to the Mīmāṃsā mountain, a saw for cutting down the Lōkāyata great tree, a great kite to the sāṅkhya serpent, an axe to the tree Advaita speakers, a Trinētra in burning the Tripura Akalanka, a fierce fire of dissolution to Viśvānala, a fire to the last day of Abhayachandra, a śarabha to the lion Vādhībha (or Vādhībha sinha), sealer up of the mouth of Vādirāja, displacer of Ayavādi, the sole able supporter of the Naiyāyikas, in maintaining his own side and in disgracing the other side an able virinchi, an ornament

(1) Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, No. 43.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*

to the speech-goddess, at court a Padmāsana, in intelligence Nārāyaṇa, among declainers Mahēśvara, in disputation like a river of the gods, in the sport of making commentaries a bee to the lotuses to the minds of those who love it, his white fame his banner, of pure character, a noose to Yama to hostile proud Paṇḍits, to Digambara speakers a falling star, having the name Vādirudraṇa." Leaving aside the poetic exaggeration, we can make out that the professor was a great debator with profound scholarship.

Appaṇṇa Bhaṭṭa, another Kālāmukhi teacher, we are told, was marked by the characteristics of the four vēdas with their aṅgas and upāṅgas, and was given to performing sacrifices, promoting sacrifices, study and instruction. He was versed in the sāstras, the six aṅgas, the eighteen smritis, the purāṇas, kāvyas, the meaning of nāṭakas, the use of granthas and the explanation of words. He established himself in the practice of Mahēśvaras, Vaiṣṇavas and other creeds. He was acquainted with the tenets of Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Lōkāyata, Sāṅkhya, Bauddha, Mimāṃsā, and other systems of philosophy.¹

It is worthy of note that some of the professors of the Sthānagundūr agrahāra had mastered the art of cookery and using weapons.² "In it were professors skilled in medicine, in sorcery, in logic, in the art of distorting people by incantation,³ and in poetry. It was recognised that every teacher in every agrahāra should practise yama (penance), niyama (fasting), Svādhyāya (reading the Vēdas), dhyāna (meditation), dharma (religious merits), yōga (spiritual devotion), anuṣṭhāna (performance of devotional exercise), japa (prayer) and samādhi (abstractions).

Specialization

Many of the epigraphs inform us that only a few of the professors were proficient in many subjects. The rest,

(1) *EP. Car.* VII, Sk. 16.

(2) *Rise, Mysore Inscriptions*, No 103.

(3) *Ibid.*

it seems, had specialised in a particular branch of knowledge. "Some are learned logicians, some are clever in conversion and discourse, some are skilled in the drama, some are able to compose poems, some are versed in grammar—but if it be asked who is master of all these? who in the world is skilled in them all?—the celebrated ocean of learning Sāmēśvara Paṇḍit".¹ From such extracts we can gather that professors proficient in more than one branch were rarely to be found and among them was the famous Sāmēśvara Paṇḍita.

Education of Women

We do not know much about the education of women in the Cālukyan Karnataka. Inscriptions are almost silent on this point. Whether women received instruction in the mathas along with women is a matter which cannot be decided in the light of the inscriptions so far discovered. But we get occasional references to women known for their learning. Thus the wife of a certain Brahman is called "a new Sarasvati in all learning".² The queen of Bammaraśa the Kadamba king (who was a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara) was "an abode of learning".³ Piriya Ketālādēvi, a queen of Vikramāditya VI is stated to have been a very clever lady and one accomplished in music. She was familiar with many languages. It was perhaps on this account that she was called "Abhinava Sarasvati".⁴ We know that the same emperor Vikramāditya appointed his wives as viceroys of districts. Six of them are known, all alike Rajput princesses, the most talented of whom was Chandralekhā of the Silahari clan. Some sort of political and military education was perhaps postulated for girls of the fighting class in this period.

(1) *EP, Car.* VII. Sk. 98.

(2) *Rice, Mysore Inscriptions*, No. 74.

(3) *South Ind. Ep.* 1923, No. B. 672.

(4) Kanti is the name given to Jaina nuns or female devotees.

The real promoters of female education in this period were first the Jainas and later the Veeraśaivas. Those two communities have rendered meritorious service to Karnataka by spreading education among the masses and the fair sex. The earliest known Kannada poetess Kanti was a Jain by faith. She was an authoress of no mean order. It is told of her that the King Ballāḷa Rāya to test her still, made Nāgachandra recite half a stanza, which Kanti would immediately complete.¹ A further story is told how Nāgachandra laid a wager that he would compel Kanti to eulogise him in verse. To effect this purpose he pretended to swoon and feigned death. When the poetess, struck with sorrow, had pronounced on him a panegyric, he sprang up and claimed to have won the wager.²

Twelfth century saw the great Lingāyat revival. It was a vigorously proselytising faith admitting to its fold all persons high and low, irrespective of caste or sex. Basava chose to preach his noble principles in Kannada following the example of the Jainas. This led to diffusion of knowledge among the women who were ignorant of Sanskrit. Thousands of women, it seems, followed Basava in his mission and some of them began to compose "Vachanas" (sayings) in pure and chaste Kannada. Names of some of these female authors have come down to us. They are Bijjala Dēvi, Kālavve, Nilamma, Mahādēvi and Mahādēvi-yakka, the last being the most famous among them all. A specimen of her "vachana" may be given here in order to form an idea of her high poetic talent :

"What sort of man is he who, having built his house on the mountain is afraid of the wild beasts there? or, having built it on the sea-shore, is alarmed by the roar of the surf? or, if he live in the market street, cannot bear

(1) Narasimhacharya, *Karnataka Kavi Charite*, Vol. I, PP. 110, 111.
Rice, *A History of Kanarese Literature*, P. 36.

(2) *Ibid.*

the noise of the traffic? Then seeing we have been born into the world as it is, we must not be afraid of its praise or its blame, but abstain from passion, and rest unperturbed. Hear my prayer, O Malli Kārjuna-dēva".¹

Thus, as to the learning of women in the period of our study, we cherish the picture of the cultured lady Mahā-dēviyakka who composed the precious "vachanas" which have been handed down to us through hundreds of years. Women in ancient Karnataka took an active part in the very stirring intellectual life of the period.

Education of Princes

We have no direct evidence as to the education of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras and other noble families. Nevertheless, from the glowing descriptions of their high accomplishments we may presume that the education of princes was so adjusted as to fit them for their high and exalted station. They were given a spartan training, so far as their physical development was concerned. From boyhood they were placed under expert tutors and were trained in the use of arms, in riding elephants and horses. Besides, political science was a subject of special study.²

It may be interesting to note in this connexion that the Brahmanical institutions such as the āgrahāras and the mathas were responsible to as certain extent for the education of the royal youths. The Sthānagandūr Agrahāra contained professors well skilled in Military training.³ It has been recorded that the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras Tailaha Dēva and Jeraharasa, coming to Balligāve made a gift of

(1) Translated by Mr. E. P. Rice, See *A History of Kanarese Literature*, PP. 57-58.

(2) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S. X, P. 252, *Ind. Ant.* II, P. 302.

(3) Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions* No. 103.

village to Kōḍiya Matha calling it as their "hereditary Gurukula" (ನಮ್ಮ ಸ್ವಯಾಗತಮಸ್ತು ಗುರುಕುಲ) These facts are sufficient to prove that the sons of many high officers, chiefs and princess received their education from generation in some of the Brahmanical institutions which were also meant for the common people.

Place of Kannada

This chapter on education will be incomplete without any remark about the status given to Kannada in the educational system of those times. A survey of Kannada literature brings to view that Brahmins cared little for that language and wrote no text-books in it. Kannada was completely neglected in their curricula; and Sanskrit was the language of their books. It was not their concern to enlighten the masses. They were communal and narrow-minded in their outlook.

But the Jains seem to have realised the real importance of the vernacular. Though they composed a number of biographies of the Tirthankaras with a view to broadcast their religious beliefs, they were greatly responsible for the spread of education among the masses, by writing popular text-books on secular subjects. Books on various subjects such as Astrology,² Arithmetic,³ Veterinary science,⁴ Horse-breeding,⁵ and Cookery⁶ came to be written in this period. Besides, we have two books on medicine,⁷ three on fiction,⁸ and two lexicons.⁹

(1) *EP. Car.* VII, Sk. 96.

(2) R. Narasimhaachar, *Karnataka Kavi Charita*, II, P. 75.

(3) *Ibid.* P. 123.

(4) *Ibid.* P. 130

(5) *Ibid.* P. 91.

(6) *Ibid.* P. 16.

(7) *Ibid.* PP. 165 and 320.

(8) *Ibid.* PP. 60, 258 and 315.

(9) *Ibid.* PP. 71 and 148.

CHAPTER XI

LANGUAGE

All the inscriptions of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras*, except a few in Sanskrit, are in Kannada language and script. This fact speaks for itself, as to what the vernacular of the country was. The feudatory chiefs were very zealous of their mother-tongue and were anxious to extend their liberal patronage for its enrichment.

Kannada, as we all know, is one of the highly polished Dravidian languages of South India, the other members of the group being Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam. It is spoken to-day in the Districts of Dhurwar, Belgaum, Bijapur and North Kanara of the Bombay Presidency, in Bellary and South Kanara of the Madras Presidency, in Mysore and the South-west districts of Hyderabad State. This portion of the Dekkan where the predominant language is Kannada is called Kurnāṭaka.

As to the origin of the terms "*Kannada*" and "*Karnataka*," there is difference of opinion among scholars. Rev. Caldwell agreeing with Dr. Gundert says that *Karnata* or *Karnatak* is the Sanskritised form of the Kannada word "*Karnāṭa*", "the black country, in allusion of the black cotton soil of the plateau of the south Dekkan¹. Both Dr. Gundert and Rev. Caldwell are silent as to the derivation of the word "*Kannada*". Mr. Levis Rice, lending his support to the above theory, further remarks that Kannada might be the corrupt form (*Tadbhava*) of *Karnata*². Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, who recently revised the Mysore Gazetteer, simply states the various views put forward by different scholars, without expressing his own

(1) Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages*, P.30.

(2) Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, Vol. I, P. 393.

opinion about them.¹ Mr. H. Narayana Rao suggested that Karnāta is derived from *Karu-nāḍu*, "the elevated country", with reference to the height of the plateau above the sea-level². Sir Walter Elliot was inclined to connect Karnāta with Karpa or Karṇi, as in Sātakarṇi, the family name of the early dynasty³. Rev. F. Kittel states in his Dictionary that Kan means blackness and Kannada the black country⁴. "In the Mackenzie Mss., the derivation of Karnataka is given as *Karṇātaka*, "pleasing to the ear of all men" and hence applied to this honoured and renowned country. The same derivation also appears in the *Viśvaguṇādarśa*, a work assigned to the eighteenth century⁵. Poet Tātāchārāyaṇa Sharma writes that "*Kannada*" is derived from the compound of two words namely "*Kammitu*" and "*Nāḍu*" which means the language of the fragrant country⁶. Mr. R. Narasinhacharya fully agrees with Poet Tātāchārāyaṇa Sharma⁷. In our own opinion all the theories stated above are not correct. They try to derive the name of the language from the name of the country in which it was spoken. This according to very reason is wrong. Tribal man when moving from place to place in pastoral condition had no idea in the least of territorial homogeneity. He was related to other members of his tribe simply by the tie of community of blood and language. In the ancient city-states of Greece, citizenship was based not on territory but on race and language. Similarly the word Kannada, denoting the tongue which the tribal Kannaḍigas spoke, seems to have been coined first. Our own explanation is that Kannada

(1) Hayavadana Rao, *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I. P. 254.

(2) See *Jayakarnataka*, Vol. X, P. 55, 5.

(3) *Numismata Orientalia-Conis of Southern India*, P. 538.

(4) Kittel, *A Kannada-English Dictionary*, P. 538.

(5) Hayavadana Rao, *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I. P. 254.

(6) ಕನ್ನಡಭಾಷೆಯ ವ್ಯುತ್ಪತ್ತಿ. See *Jayakarnataka*, Vol. X. P. 554.

(7) Narasinhacharya, *Karnatakakavi Charite*, Vol. I, Intro. P. XIX.

is the original word which later on gave birth to Karnata, when the country came in contact with the Aryans. "Kan" in Kannada means to reflect; and *Al* (ಅಲ) means "that which is". The compound word *Kannaḷ* or *Kannaḷa* in course of time became *Kannada*. That which has the power to reflect one's thought is language and hence Kannada. Similarly, that which possesses the power to reflect one's image in mirror and hence called *Kannaḷi* by the Kannadigas.¹

During the days of the *Mahāmaṇḍalīśvaras* Kannada language was so far developed as to give rise to a splendid literature which we shall try to describe in the next chapter. The furnished excellence of Nripating's *Kavirāja-mārga* of ninth century presupposes the free development of the language at least two centuries before it. Kannada inscriptions make their appearance from the end of the second century. But Mr. C. V. Vaidya in his *Mediaeval Hindu India* places the rise of Kannada language between A. D. 800 and A. D. 1000, along with the rise of Marathi, Bengali and other Indo-Aryan vernaculars.² He observesthe second sub-period of Mediaeval Hindu History viz. A. D. 800-1000 was characterised by the rise of modern languages. We believe that Marathi, Bengali, Hindi and Punjabi came into existence about the same time and by about the same causes, and their rise cannot be traced further back than this period. Even the Kanarese, the Malyali and Telugu came into existence at this time by the operation of the same causes which we proceed to note". This remark of Mr. Vaidya is not correct so far as Kannada is concerned. We shall therefore proceed to show the hollowness of this statement.

Kannada, as can be proved by epigraphical evidence, is the most ancient of all the Indian vernaculars except

(1) This view is also shared by Mr. Bendre and Betgeri.

(2) Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. II, P. 167.

Tamil. Though the beginnings are lost in the mist of time, we may safely presume that the language was in existence in the first century of the Christian era. In a Greek farce of the second century A. D. found at Oxyrhyncus there occur some Indian words which according to Dr. Hultsch and Mr. Govind Pai are Kannada.¹ Besides, as we have already stated, we have Kannada inscriptions dating from A. D. 189.² In these early centuries Kannada seems to have been cultivated as a literary language, and books were written in it, though none of them are extant. The author of *Kavirājamārga* mentions many Kannada writers that preceded him,³ one of these being Durvīṭa most probably the Ganga King of that name who ruled at the close of the sixth century. Besides, he says that there existed independent literary forms in Kannada called *Chattāṇa*, *Badanḍe*⁴ and *Gadyakathā*.⁵ Moreover the learning and

(1) *Mysore Arch. Report*, for 1904 ;

(2) For inscription dating from A. D. 189 See *EP. Car.* III, Nj, 190 ; Nj. 122, Vol. VII, Sk. 52 (?), Vol. IX, Bn. P.459, Vol. I, PP.1-4, Vol. V, Kd, P.175 ; XI, Cd, 43. *Ind. Ant.* X, P. 63 *EP. Car.* X, Kl, 6.

(3) “ ವಿಮಲೋದಯ ನಾಗಾರ್ಜುನ |

ಸಮೀತ ಜಯಬಂಧು ದುರ್ವಿಠಲತಾದಿಗಳೇ ||

ಕ್ರಮದೊಳ್ ನೆಗಟ್ಟು ಗದ್ಯಾ |

ಶ್ರಮಸದಗುರು ತಾಪ್ರತಿತಿಯಂಕೆಯೊಂಡರ್ || ”—*Parichheda I*, verse 29.

“ ಪರಮತ್ರೀ ವಿಜಯ ಕವೀ |

ಶ್ವರ ಪಂಡಿತ ಚಂದ್ರ ಲೋಕಪಾಲಾದಿಗಳಾ ||

ಋತಕಯ ವಸ್ತು ವಿಸ್ತರ |

ವಿರಚನೆ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಯಂ ತವಾದ್ಯ ಕಾವ್ಯ ಕೈಂದುಂ || ”—*Parichheda I*, Verse 33.

(4) “ ನುಡಿಗಿಲ್ಲಂ ಸಲ್ಲದ ಕ |

ನ್ನಡದೊಳ್ ಚತ್ತಾಣಮುಂ ಬೆಡಂದೆಯುಮೆಂದೀ ||

ಗದಿನ ನೆಗಟ್ಟಯ ಕಬ್ಬದೊ |

ಲೊಪಂಬ (ದಂನಾ) ದಿದರ್ ಪುರಾತನ ಕವಿಗಳ || ”—*Parichheda I* Verse 32.

(5) “ ಮಿಗೆ ಕನ್ನಡಗಟ್ಟಂಗಲೊ |

ಳಣಿತಗುಣಗದ್ಯ ಪದ್ಯ ಸಮ್ಮಿತಮಂ ||

ನಿಗದಿಸುವರ್ ಗದ್ಯ ಕಥಾ |

ಪ್ರಗೀತಿಯಿಂ ತಚ್ಚರಂಶನಾಚಾರ್ಯರ್ಕಳ || ”—*Parichheda I* Verse 27.

the knowledge displayed by the author himself, and the highly polished style in which the book is composed bear impressive testimony to the existence of a vast body of literature displaying considerable erudition in the early centuries, which unfortunately owing to some reason or other has been lost to us. It will thus be seen that the language and literature of Karnataka is of great antiquity. And its rise can be traced back at least to the second century which possesses a Kannada inscription.

We all know that language is organic and it changes from time to time. Accordingly Kannada underwent several changes during its long course of existence of about two thousand years; and the twelfth century marks an important epoch in its growth. Rev. Kittel who recognises three stages in Kannada remarks: "It includes three chief dialects, classical, mediaeval, and modern. The first or Ancient Kannada is quite uniform, and shows an extraordinary amount of polish and refinement. It has to the present time been preserved in several works written by Jaina scholars, and appears to have been in common use for literary purposes from at least the tenth to the middle of the thirteenth century.....After the ancient dialect the Mediaeval Kannada began to appear as contained in the poetry of Śaiva and Lingāyat authors..... Its period terminated at about the end of the 15th centuryFrom about the 16th century Mediaeval Kannada gradually got the character of the language of the present day or of Modern Kannada".¹ Mr. Rice disagreeing with Rev. Kittel says: "Three stages may be recognised of the Kannada language, namely. Pūrvada Halegannada or Primitive old Canarese; Hale Kannada or old Canarese, and Hosa Kannada, the New or Modern Canarese. The first period may be described as terminating about the end of the 7th century, the second

(1) Kittel, A. *Kannada—English Dictionary*, Preface, opp. 3-4

extends from the 8th to the fourteenth century; when the third commences".¹ Mr. R. Narasinhacharya seems to follow the opinion of Mr. Rice.² According to our view both Rev. Kittel and Mr. Rice are partly right and partly wrong. Rev. Kittel does not seem to have read the Kannad inscriptions prior to the seventh century and hence he is not aware of "Primitive Old Canarese" of Mr. Rice, who in turn does not take into consideration "The Mediaeval Kannada" of Rev. Kittel. Moreover, Rice fails to give us the peculiarities of each period. We recognise four stages in the whole range of Kannad language, namely Pūrvada Hale Kannada or Pre-Ancient Kannarese, Hale Kannad or Ancient Kanarese, Naḍu Kannada or Mediaeval Kanarese and Hosa Kannada or Modern Kanarese. The first period extends from the earliest times to about the middle of the 8th century. The Ancient period lasts from then upto about the middle of the 12th century. The Naḍu Kannada makes its appearance which remained in use upto very recent times, being followed in its turn by Hosa Kannada (Primarily prose).

We are here concerned only with the transition from ancient to mediaeval Kannada which took place in the age of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras*. But none as yet (as far as we know) has shown the peculiarities of Pre-Ancient Kanarese, we have, therefore, tried to elucidate some of them in the foot-note below.³ Turning to the period under

(1) Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, Vol I, p. 394.

(2) Narasinhacharya, *Karnatak Kavi Charite*, Vol, I Introduction pp. 17-18.

(3) Some of the characteristics pre-ancient Kannada are shown here:

(I) The Accusative or second case-sign in pre-ancient Kannada is *ṇ* (ಅನ್) instead of *an* (ಅನ್) as in Ancient Kannada.

Example: "ದೇಗುಮಾನ್ ಮೂಡಿದ ಸೂತ್ರವಾಂ." (A. D. 740)

survey we find that it is marked by important changes both in grammatical usage and in literary form. The letter *la* is now entirely dropped; and its place taken by *ḷa* or the half-letter *r*. Harihara (A. D. 1165) is the first poet who courageously declared to bring into force these new changes and introduced them in his *Girijāhalyāna* where he does not make any distinction between the letters *ḷa*, *ḷa* and *la* for the purposes of *prāsa* (rhyme).¹ The writers are now somewhat negligent as to the use of suffixes and the rules of syntax. New forms of composition like *shat-padi*, *Ragaḷe* and *Vachana* became dominant; and the elaborate and highly artificial *chumpu* falls to the background. The letter *pa* at the commencement of a word and in verbal forms was changed to *ha*. Half sounds now began to expand into full. For example *pārva* (ಪಾರ್ವ) became *pariva* (ಪಾರುವ) *alukabalki* (ಅಲಕಬಳ್ಳಿ) became *aḷukabaluḷa* (ಅಳುಕಬಳುಕ) and *pogalḷuḷu* (ಪೊಗಲಳ್ಳು) became *ogaḷuḷuḷu* (ಪೊಗಳ್ಳು). The works contain a number of *Tadbhavas* not sanctioned by previous authors. Now the poet tried to move in freer spirit. The cramping influence of rhetoric and grammar began to wane.

- (II) The Genetive or Sixth case-sign is *u* (ಅ) and not *a* (ಅ).
Examples: "ಭಟಾರಾ ದತ್ತಿ." (A. D. 733). "ಇದರಾಮುದುತಾ ಯವಿರ್" (A. D. 700); "ಎಳೆನೆಯಾ ನರಕದಾ ಪುಮಿಲಕ್ಕು" (A. D. 597).
- (III) The locative or Seventh-case-sign is *uḷ* (ಉಳ) and not *ol* (ಒಳ). Example: "ವೈಶಾಖಮಾಸದುಳ" (A. D. 725).
- (IV) The verb-sign (*Ākhyāta Pratyaya*) is *uḥ* or *uḥ* (ಅನ್ or ಒನ್) instead of *an* (ಅನ್); and *ur* (ಆರ್) or *or* (ಒರ್) instead of *ar* (ಆರ್). Examples: "ಸಮಾಧಿ ನೆರೆದೊನ್" (A. D. 700); "ಸೌಖ್ಯ ಸ್ಥನಾಯ್ದನ್" (A. D. 700) "ತೆಂಕಣ ದಿಸೆ ಮಾಡಿದೊರ್."
- (V) Negative Predicate-sign (*Nisheda pratyaya*) is *u* (ಅ) instead of *a* (ಅ) Example: "ವಿತ್ತಿ ದಲ್ಲೆ ನೆಳೆಯಾದೆ ಕೆಡುಗಾ."
- (VI) The letter *ba* (ಬ) at the commencement of a word is *va* (ವ) in Pre-Ancient Kannada. Example: "ವರೆದೋನ್" (ಬರೆದಂ)."
- (VII) (ಇ) changes to *ē* (ಎ) in Pre-ancient Kannada. Example: ಇಜಂ = ಎಜಂ.
- (VIII) Double sound occurs in some words instead of single. Example: Talekkadu for Talekadu.

The curious reader may refer to various inscriptions in *Ep. Carnatica*.

The flow of needless Sanskrit words now stopped to a certain extent. New grammatical changes and literary forms were not so nicely suited to incorporate high sounding Sanskrit words, as in the case of "*Champu*". It seems that Mediaeval Kannada was not very different from the colloquial language of those times. Megha Chandra (A. D. 1148) who wrote a commentary on Pūjyapāda's *Samādhiśataka* clearly tells us that he composed it in Posa Kannada or New Kannada (Nadu Kannada for us), so that it may be easily intelligible to the son of a certain Pampa for whom it was written.¹

This period is also important in the sense that there existed a school of authors who protested emphatically, against the inflow of needless Sanskrit words into Kannada. The first leader of the school was Nayasēna (A.D. 1112), the author of *Dharmāmṛita* who unsparingly condemns the practice in strong language. He says, "Can he be called a poet who, after declaring that he would write in new Kannada, uses improper Sanskrit words in his composition? If you want to use Sanskrit, write a book in that language. But do not mix Sanskrit with chaste Kannada. Will it be proper to mix oil with ghee"?² Nāgavarma, similarly

(1) "ನೋಡುವೊಡೊಂದಕ್ಕರಮದು |

ಮೂಡುವೊಡುಚ್ಚರಣೆಗರಿದು ಮೂಱಂ ತೇಜನಂ ||

ಕೂಡೆ ಕವಿತತಿ ವಿಚಾರಿಸೆ |

ದೇಡದಱಂ ಉಪಕುಳಕ್ಷರಂಗಳನಿದಱುಳ್ || "

(1) "ವಿಶಿತ ಯಶೋನ್ನಿಧಿ ಪಂಪನ ಸುತಂಗೆ ತಿಳಿವಂತು ಪೊಚ್ಚ ಪೊಸಗನ್ನಡದಿ." Quoted by Narasimhaacharya, *Karnataka Kavi Charite*, Vol. I, p. 159.

(2) "ಪೊಸಗನ್ನಡದಿಂ ವ್ಯಾವ |

ಚೇಸುವೆಂ ಸತ್ಯತಿಯುನೊಂದು ಕನ್ನಡಮಂ ಚಿಂ ||

ತಿಗಿ ಕೂಡಲಾಱದಕ್ಕಟಿ

ಮಿಸುಕದ ಸಕ್ಕದಮೂಕ್ಕುವವನುಂ ಕವಿಯೇ || "

"ಸಕ್ಕದಮಂ ಪೇಟುಡ್ಡೆ ನೆಣ |

ಸಕ್ಕದಮಂ ಪೇಟುಡ್ಡೆ ಶುದ್ಧ ಕನ್ನಡದೊಳ್ ಪಂ ||

ದಿಕ್ಕುವುದೆ ಸಕ್ಕದಂಗಳ |

ತಕ್ಕದ ಬೆರಸಲ್ಕೆ ಪುತಮುನುಂ ತೈಲಮುನುಂ || " quoted by Narasimhaacharya, *Karnataka-Kavi Charite* I, p. 118-119.

denounces the practice comparing it to the stringing of pearls along with pepper corns (ಮುಕ್ತಂ ಮೆಲಸಂ ಕೋದಂತಿರೆ). It may be here interesting to note that even in the ninth century the author of *Kavirājamārga* condemns the practice comparing it to an unnatural union with an old woman.¹ These advocates of pure Kannada seem to have commanded considerable influence throughout the period of our study. One hundred years after Nayasēna, appears Āṇḍayya, the extremist leader of this great literary movement. It was his achievement to compose *Kabbigara Kāva* without the use of a single unnaturalised (*tatsama*) Sanskrit word. The author tells us that it was written at the suggestion of scholars for the express purpose of showing that it could be done.

In spite of the strenuous efforts of these ardent advocates, Kannada language could not get rid of Sanskrit influence. This was not easily possible on account of its insufficient vocabulary especially to express abstract ideas of science, philosophy and religion. It should not however be supposed, as the Sanskrit Pandits do, that Sanskrit is indispensable for Kannada composition. The fact that Kannada has largely borrowed Sanskrit words can no more prove its inability to stand on its own legs. Vocabulary is the outer garb and not the soul of a language. we can decorate a language with foreign words as easily as we dress a man with another's clothes. It is the characteristic grammatical structure that gives a language its claim for independence. Kannada is purely Dravidian in which the non-Sanskrit portion exceeds the Sanskrit portion. "In the Dravidian languages all nouns denoting in-animate subs-

(1) " ನೊರೆಕೆಡೆರೆ ಸೊಗಯಸುಗುಂ |

ಪುರಾಣ ಕಾವ್ಯ ಪ್ರಯೋಗದೊಳ್ ತಕ್ಕಾಲುಂ ||

ವಿರ (ಸಂ) ಕರಮುವು ಬೇಸಿಗೆ |

ಜರದ್ವಧೂವಿಜ್ಜಯ ಸುರಶರ ಸರಸಿತವೋಲಾ || "—Parichcheda I, verso 50

tances and irrational beings are of neuter gender. The distinction of male and female appears only in the pronouns of the third person of the verb. In all other cases the distinction of gender is marked by separate words signifying "male" and "female". Dravidian nouns are inflected, not by means of case terminations, but by means of suffixed post-positions and separate particles. Dravidian neuter nouns are rarely pluralized. Dravidian languages use post-positions instead of pre-positions. Dravidian adjectives are incapable of declension. It is characteristic of these languages in contradiction to Indo-European that wherever practicable, they use as adjectives the relative principles of verbs, in preference to nouns of quality or adjectives properly so called. A peculiarity of the Dravidian dialects is the existence of two pronouns of the first person plural, one inclusive of the person addressed, the other exclusive. The Dravidian languages have no passive voice, this being expressed by auxiliary verbs signifying "to suffer", etc. Unlike the Indo-European, they prefer the use of continuative participles to conjunctions. The Dravidian verbal system possesses a negative as well as an affirmative voice. It is a marked peculiarity of the Dravidian languages that they use relative participle nouns instead of phrases introduced by relative pronouns. These participles are formed from the various participles of the verb by the addition of a formative suffix. Thus "the person who came" is in these languages literally "the who came".¹ As Kannada is one of the important Dravidian languages it can be said, without any fear of contradiction, that there is much in Kannada which is essentially its own and independent of Sanskrit.

Having said so much about Sanskrit influence, we proceed to note the influence of non-Sanskrit languages on

(1) Narasinhacharya, *Karnataka Kavicharite*, Vol. I. Intro. pp. XII-XIII.

Kannada during the days of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras*. The influence of these languages was not so great as that of Sanskrit. In fact it is negligible. Nevertheless, we come across a few Hindustani (or rather Arabi) and Marathi words in the inscriptions. For example, in the Kōḍikoppa inscription of the reign of Achugi II of the Sinda dynasty,¹ the word "Ākāra-hukka" is used to denote the estimate department. *Hukka* is of course the Hindustani (or Arabi) "Hakk" and the meaning evidently intended and given above to the Sanskrit word "Ākāra" is a purely Marathi meaning. Similarly the word "Kōtavāl" is used in an inscription of the time of Jagadēkamalla of Kalyāṇi.² It may be further noted in this connection that the epigraph in which this word occurs is inscribed in Nāgarī characters.

Turning to contemporary literature, we find that Harihara (A. D. 1165) had no scruples to make use of foreign words in his compositions. It is really interesting to note that the word "toppige" (from "topi" meaning cap) occurs in his *Basava Rāja Dēva Ragale*.³ In the same work we get the Marathi words "Chhatīs" (meaning thirty-six) and "Bāhattar" (meaning seventy-two).⁴ Even to this day people in North Karnataka freely use Marathi words for numerals which practice seems to have been prevalent even in the twelfth century. Again the word "Chādaya" (meaning increment in pay) is used.⁵ It is true that these are the only four Marathi words that Harihara borrowed. Nevertheless, we shall not be far from truth, if we presume that a larger number of them was used in ordinary con-

(1) Fleet; *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains* J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XI, p. 250.

(2) *South Ind. Ep.*, Annual Report, for 1927-28, No. E--26.

(3) *Basavarajadeva Ragale*, Sthala V, Hue 60.

(4) *Ibid.* Sthala VIII, line 125.

(5) *Ibid.* Sthala VI, line 34.

versational language in those times. Because, as we have already noted, the tendency among the writers of that period was to avoid as many foreign words as possible in their compositions.

So far we have seen the influence exercised by some Aryan languages on Kannada. We are often told that "when an Aryan tongue comes into contact with an uncivilized aboriginal one, it is invariably the latter that goes to the wall,"¹ and that "it is only in the South of India where aboriginal languages are associated with a high degree of culture that they have held their own".² But we have altogether a different story to tell in the Chālukyan Empire. The Dravidian language Kannada not only held its own, but influenced to a considerable extent its Aryan neighbour Marathi. Let us therefore proceed to examine this Kannada influence on Marathi language and country and note the causes that contributed to it.

Besides the Kannad districts, the Chalukyan Empire comprised a large portion of the Deccan which is now known as Maharashtra. It is very remarkable that many Chālukya inscriptions found in this part of the Maratha countries are in Kannad language. This was because, the officers forming the government of the Chālukyas spoke Kannad and with a view to make the administration easy, they made Kannad the court language. This is the case with all the conquerors who speak a language different from that of the conquered. It cannot possibly, be otherwise. Of course, Marathi was the mother-tongue of the people inhabiting this part of the Chālukyan Empire. But it had not yet developed a distinct literature of its own. *Jñānēśvari* of 1290 was yet to be composed, and Marathi literature was still in the making. Kannada with its extra-

(1) *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VI. I, p. 351.

(2) *Ibid*, p. 352.

ordinary polish and vast literature was therefore readily accepted by the Marathi speaking population as their vernacular and court language. This adoption of Kannada by the Marathas seems to have taken place during the rule of the Rāshtrakūṭas who are well known for their love of Kannada literature. Nripatunga in his *Kavirājamārga* clearly mentions that the region in which Kannada was "Spoken" extended from the Kaveri as far as Godavari.¹ The accuracy of Nripatunga's statement cannot be doubted. Because, as we have already stated, the very existence of a large number of Kannada inscriptions in the Maratha country abundantly proves that in ancient times—especially during the days of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi Kannada was the recognized state language of the people. Moreover we get other evidences to the same effect. The country was Karnatakised to such an extent that many villages in modern Maharashtra still retain their ancient Kannada names. For example, the names Kundoor, (near Poona), Poyanāḍu, Shirōḷ, Kallamath, Dēvarakoppa, Akkal-Kop, Uḷavi, Attigare, Mosāḷe, Nērūr, Pāḷe, Dēvūr, Dōṇi, Nirgudē, Kanakavallī, Brahmanāl, Gaṇagāpur, Kuradivāḍi, and Kaḷasa betray their Kannada origin.² Late Mr. Rajavade was of opinion that about half the number of villages in Maharashtra bear Kannada names.³ When the country itself was so much influenced, it is certain that the language (Marathī) was still more affected. Old Kannada influence on Marathī with special reference to *Jñānśēvari* is very ably shown by Prof. Jahagirdar in his thesis submitted to the University of London.⁴ In Marathī and Gujarathī, unlike the other Indo-Aryan vernaculars, three genders are distin-

(1) "ಕಾವೇರಿಯಿಂದಮಾಗೋ | ಧಾವರಿ (ವರಿ) ವಿಸ್ತರ ನಾಡವಾ ಕನ್ನಡದೊಳ್ ||
ಭಾವಿಸಿದ ಜನಸಹಂ . . ."—Paricheda I, verse, 36.

(2) Alur Venkata Rao, *Karnataka Gata Vaibhava*, p. 81

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 19.

(4) See the Annals of *The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XI, p. 374.

guished and the neuter is a living gender just as in Kannada. This peculiarity is rightly attributed to Dravidian influence by Dr. Sten Konow.¹

Along with the rise of a people increases the influence of their language. The ruler forces his speech on the subjects. History of India is full of such instances. Persian became the predominant written language under the Mahammadan rule. With the advent of the British, English has been introduced into India. Urdu has become the medium of instruction in the Hyderabad State, at the expense of Telugu, Marathi and Kannada. Similar was the case with ancient Maharashtrians living under the Chālukyas and their feudatory chiefs.

In the eleventh and the twelfth centuries Kannada wielded tremendous influence on Telugu its eastern neighbour. Telugu then seems to have had a closer relation with Kannada than at present. The earliest extant work in Telugu is the *Mahābhārata* by Nanniah which belongs to the first half of the eleventh century. We are told that Rāja Rāja Narēndra (of the Eastern Chālukya Dynasty) having heard the story of Bhārata in Kannada and Tamil, was desirous to perpetuate it in the language of the country of which he was the ruler.² Hence he appointed Nanniah to undertake the task of rendering *Mahābhārata* into Telugu. Kannada Bharata heard by Rāja Rāja Narēndra was perhaps the *Bhārata* by Ādipampa. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa who assisted Nanniah was well versed, as stated in the Nandimapūḍi inscription, in Sanskrit, Karnataka, Prākṛit and Paśāchika.³ Another great Āndhra poet Nannechōḍu who lived in about A. D. 1150 was so

(1) Narasinhacharya, *Karnataka Kavi Charite*, I, p. XI, Foot note.

(2) Chenchiah and Bhujanga Rao, *A History of Telugu Literature* p. 42.

(3) Narasinhacharya, *Karnataka Kavi Charite*, Vol. I, p. 74.

much influenced by Kannada language and literature that he has freely used a large number of Kannada words in his Telugu poetry. Mr. Chenchiah and Mr. Bhujanga Rao are of opinion that Nannechōḍu's learning in Karnataka was extensive and massive.¹ What is more, he showed a "perceptible partiality to Kannada metres".² The Āndhras were so much enamoured of the richness and beauty of Kannada that many of them, we are told, used to migrate to Karnataka and write books in it, after mastering the language. Ādipampa tells us in his *Bhārata* that his ancestors came from Vengī.³ Nāgavarma, the author of *Chhandūmbudhi* and *Kādambari* was, likewise, an Āndhrī.⁴

The rise of Lingāyatism had also contributed much to the spread of Kannada language among the Telugus. Basavā's noble principles now reached beyond the narrow limits of Karnataka, and foreigners with a view to read his sayings began to learn Kannada. With the result, Telugu literature came under the influence of Vīraśaivism. The three Telugu poets of this period are all supporters and propagandists of this faith.¹ Pāḷkurīke Somanātha was one of these authors who studied and wrote in Kannada as well. This influence of Kannada language on Telugu was so remarkable that even after the 12th century, Āndhra writers were not able to get rid of it altogether. For, in the fourteenth century we find Śrinātha "the supreme poet of Telugu literature" declaring that his style was purely Karnataki and not Sanskrit or Āndhra as some Paṇḍits thought it to be.² Similarly Allāsāni Peddaṇṇa, the Telugu

(1) Chenchiah and Bhujanga Rao, o. o. p. 52

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Pampabharata*, XIV, 40-48.

(4) *Karnataka Kavi Charite* I, p. 52.

(5) Chenchiah and Bhujanga Rao o. o. p. 51

poet-laureate of Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya (1509-1529) is said to have laid under tribute Kannaḍa words wherever necessary.¹

Thus the period under survey presents Karnataka language in its full glory. In the territory of the Chālukyas and their feudatory chiefs it was the state language and came to be studied by every subject irrespective of his mother tongue. In the hands of the Virāṣaiya reformers it turned to be the powerful medium for the propagation of religion, and created a literature racy of the soil. In the eyes of the Āndhra men of letters it was looked upon as the language of refinement and culture, setting for them a worthy example in order to cultivate their own sweet, honeyed Telugu.

(1) *Karnataka Gata Vaibhava*, p. 122. The original verse is quoted :—
 “ಪ್ರೌಢಿ ಪರಿ ಕಿಂಪ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಭಾಷೆಯೆಂಡು, | ಪಲಕು ನುಡಿಕಾರಮನ ನಾಂಧ್ರ,
 ಭಾಷೆಯೆಂಡು, | ಯೌವರೇ ಮುನ್ನ ನೆಂಡು, | ನಾಮೇಕಿ ಕೊರೆತ | ನಾ ಕವಿತ್ವ
 ಮುಂಬು ನಿಜಮು ಕರ್ನಾಟಿ ಭಾಷೆ || ”

CHAPTER XII

LITERATURE

The internal history of the times of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* will remain incomplete without a survey of Kannada literature of the period. We have already seen that some of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* were ruling the districts before the appearance of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī; and many of them continued to hold territories even after the fall of the Chālukyan Empire. Thus we have a period of about three centuries, say, from A. D. 960 to A. D. 1250, taking for example the duration of the Sinda dynasty of Belagavarti. We, therefore, propose to deal with the literary history of Karnataka during these three hundred years.

The poet in this period seems to have played a prominent part in moulding the cultural life of the nation. He wielded political influence at the royal court; religious influence at the temple, and was a central figure in his village. The emperors and the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras*, in ancient times, were delighted when great poets came to their courts. They enjoyed a good poem, honoured a true poet and encouraged literary art. In fact, the court of every chieftain was an academy where the poet attained wealth and fame according to his merit. Kannada literature of this period is as its best. It is of vast extent and range. We have books on poetics, prosody, grammar, lexicons and what is more on medicine, veterinary science, mathematics, astrology, cookery and even on horse breeding. Besides there are innumerable inscriptions composed in beautiful *Kāvya* style. These edicts are so rich in diction and flowing in style that the reader sometimes forgets that he is studying history. He sees before him a treasure of Kannada literature clothed under the garb of epigraphs which are mostly grants.

This proud heritage produced in this period is the outcome of liberal patronage extended to literature by the ruling dynasties of the day. We all know that the great poet Ranna was a courtier basking in the imperial sunshine of the Chālukyās. But it will be wrong to suppose that it was only the Chalukyās who were responsible for the enrichment of our literature. Many a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* had his own court adorned by the poet-laureate. Pāśva Paṇḍita, Bālachandra and Mādirāja shone in the court of the Raṭṭas. Rāvappayya was under the fostering care of the Sindas. Mallinātha was encouraged by the Sāntaras, and Madhusūdhanaḍēva was the poet of the Pāṇḍyas of Uchchangi. Ranna in his *Gadāyuddha* clearly tells us that he began his literary career first under the patronage of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras*,¹ and shone like a gem in royal *darbārs* of the "Māṇḍlikas", the "Sāmantas" and the "Chakravarti" as a poet skilled in two languages.² It is thus evident that the literature of this period is laid under a deep debt of gratitude to the feudatory chiefs who encouraged men of letters with due honour and riches.

We all know that literature is the embodiment of the emotions and thoughts of the people. The history of a country is reflected in its literature. From this point of view, we may classify the literary history of the period into the "Heroic age" and the "Age of Religious propaganda," the dividing line falling somewhere at the end of the eleventh century.

First turning to the "Heroic Age", we find that it was an age when Karnataka was busy in changing dynasties and her people in exchanging swords. The Chālukyās had just emerged victorious out of the struggle. The Pallavas and the Gangas had their battles to fight, and the powerful

(1) *Ravanna Gadayuddha*, I, 34.

(2) *Ravanna Gadayuddha*, I, 34, 37.

Cōlas were still ravaging the country destroying the Jaina shrines. "It was a time when the spirit of heroism and enterprise was constantly evoked".¹ The literature of the period embodies this heroic spirit of the age.

Many of the poets of this period could handle the sword as well as the pen. In war they led the army and at court they wrote a *Kāvya*. It is well known to the student of Kannada literature that Chāvundarāya (A. D. 978) was the commander-in-chief under Rāchamalla of the Ganga dynasty.² This celebrated poet-general tells us in his work *Chāvundā Rāya Purāṇa* that he was called "*Rana-ranga Singa*" (Lion in the battlefield) on account of the victory he won, single-handed, in the famous fort of Uccangi.³ He possessed the military title "*Viramārtāṇḍa*" along with the literary title "*Kavijanasekhara*";⁴ Nāgavarma (A. D. 990) who wrote *Chandombudhi* and translated the *Kādambari*, we are told, fought bravely in the battle, "like Arjuna, the son of Kunti" (ಕುಂತೀಪುತ್ರನಂತೆ ಯೋಧನಾದ).⁵ Poet Ranna called his famous work, *Sāhasabhima Vijaya* (or *Gadāyudha*), a name which suggests the predominant heroic spirit of the age. In this work the poet institutes a beautiful comparison between Bheema the hero of the story and Chālukya Satyāśraya his royal patron. The whole *Kāvya* from beginning to end is full of heroic sentiment. (*Virarasa*). Moreover, the great scholar who revised this great work was a *daṇḍanāyaka* (General) by name Kēsi.⁶ Thus we see that some of the great literary masters of the period were brave generals as well.

In this period we have epics and the *Purāṇas* which strike us by their richness of diction and dignity of style.

(1) *Karnataka Handbook*, p. 172

(2) *Chavundaraya Purana*, Adipurana, Intro. p. II.

(3) *Chavundaraya Purana Adī Purana*, Introduction, p. II-III

(4) *Narasinhacharya, Karnataka Kavi Charite*, Vol. I, p.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 54.

(6) *Ramana Gadayudha*, I 51.

the characteristic of all the works of the age. In addition to these, we have books on other subjects as well. But "the predominant note struck by the literature of the age was heroism, though out of the fullness and vitality of national life were produced works of other themes and interests. This period has bequeathed to us some of the most sublimely noble and magnificent examples of Kannada literature".¹

From the beginning of the twelfth century commences the era of extreme religious unrest. It was the age of theistic and religious reformers. The dominant note of the twelfth century and that of the following is the intensification of the religious consciousness of the people, and the consequent birth of aggressive and propagandist creeds which sought the aid of kings for their expansion. Rāmānuja began his missionary tours about the middle of this century. The Veerasaiva faith associated with Basava now began to make its influence felt throughout the length and breadth of Karnataka. Religions ran into extremes. All this produced much bitterness, engendered by a narrow spirit of advocacy, and was instrumental in bringing into existence a huge quantity of polemical and propagandist literature. It is from this century that Kannada began to be greatly influenced by Lingāyatism which gave us some of the best poets in the whole range of our literature. The Jainas wrote many *Purāṇas* to revive interest, in the Jain faith which now began decline amidst adverse environments. Of such *Purāṇas* mention may be made of *Rāmchandra Charita Purāṇas* and *Mallinātha Purāṇa*² by Nāgachandra (A. D. 1100,), *Neminātha Purāṇa*³ by Karṇapārya (A. D. 1140), *Neminath Purāṇa*⁴ by Nēmichandra (A. D. 1170), *Chandra Prabha*⁵ *Purāṇa* by

(1) *Karnataka Handbook*, p.174.

(2) Narasimhaacharya, *Karnataka Kavi Charite*, Vol, I, p. 108.

(3) *Ibid*, p. 141

(4) *Ibid*, p.262.

(5) *Ibid*, p.285.

Aggaḷa (A. D. 1189), *Vardhamāna Purāṇa*¹ by Ācchaṇṇa (A. D. 1195), *Pārsavanāth Purāṇa*² by Pārsva Paṇḍita (A. D. 120), *Anantanātha Purāṇa*³ by Janna (A. D. 1209), *Pushpadanta Purāṇa*⁴ by Guṇavarma II (A. D. 1235), and *Śantīśavara Puṇḍina* by Kamalabhava (A. D. 1235.) Among Brahmana works of this period mention may be made of *Jagannātha Vijaya* by Rudrabhaṭṭa (A. D. 1180.)

We have numerous Lingāyat writers in this period, the prominent among them being Harihara (A. D. 1165), Rāghavāṅka⁵ (A. D. 1165), Kereya Padmarasa⁶ (A. D. 1165), Kumāra Padmarasa⁷ (A. D. 1180) Pāḷkurika] Sōmanātha⁸ (A. D. 1195), and Chakrapāṇi Ranganātha¹⁰ (A. D. 1195). Most of these rīraśaiva writers—wrote either in *Shatpadi* or *Ragaḷe* which now come into vogue. The necessity of religious propaganda demanded the creation of a lucid, popular easily intelligible style and this was achieved by the new literary forms just mentioned. The hitherto dominating *Champu* form of composition which was not suited to simple Kannada, gave its place to *Shatpadi* and *Ragaḷe*. The *Champu* was composed in pure Sanskrit metres which are highly artificial to the Dravidian language Kannada. But the new forms now introduced by the Lingāyat writers were purely indigenous, and these gave a new grace and charm altogether to Kannada poetry. *Shatpadi* is a six-lined stanza which is divided into two halves of three lines each. *Shatpadis* are of six kinds namely *Vārdhika*, *Parivardhini*, *Bhāmini*, *Kusuma*, *Bhōga*, and *Śara*. *Ragaḷe* is a sort of lyrical composition which flows on without any refrains. It is divided into "*Mandānila*" "*Utsāha*" and "*Lalita*". The first poet to use *Shatpadi* was Rāghavanka (A. D. 1165) who was later on followed even.

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 301.(2) *Ibid.*, p. 324.(3) *Ibid.*, p. 334.(4) *Ibid.*, p. 357.(5) *Ibid.*, p. 363.(6) *Ibid.*, p. 335.(7) *Ibid.*, p. 245.(8) *Ibid.*, p. 377.(9) *Ibid.*, p. 291.(10) *Ibid.*, p. 296.

by Jaina and Brahmana poets. From the end of the fourteenth century, *Shalṭadi* becomes the most common metre freely used by writers of every faith. The master of "Ragaḷe" metre was the great poet Harihara (A. D. 1165), who wrote a lengthy book in this form, in praise of the sixty-three *purāṇas* and other early Śaiva saints. He used this metre with such beauty and lucidity that he was now popularly called "Ragaḷe Kavi". Besides the Lingāyat writers mentioned above, there was a big band of "Vachanakāras" who "flooded the country with tracts" commending the new creed preached by Basava. Of these "vachana" writers of the age of prominent are-Basavaṇṇa¹, Chennabasava,² Prabhudēva,³ Mahādēviyakka,⁴ Siddarāma,⁵ Soḍḍala Bācharasa,⁶ Madivaḷa Māchayya,⁷ Mōligeṃy Mārāyya,⁸ Ambīgara Chaudāyya,⁹ Kōla Śāntayya,¹⁰ Nuliya Channayya,¹¹ Simmalligeṃy Channayya,¹² and Jēḍore Dāsimaṃyya,¹³ Thus the twelfth century marks a very important stage in the history of Kannada literature as it saw the beginning of the "vachana" Literature. It will, therefore, not be out of place here to say a few words about the *vachanas* or the sayings.

The *Vachana* is a unique feature of the Veeraśaiva Literature. It is particularly noteworthy for its crispness, its rhythmic cadence, and its chastic and severe diction. It is easily intelligible even to the man in the street. "In form the *Vachanas* are brief, disconnected paragraphs, each ending with one or another of the numerous local names

(1) P. G. Halakatti, *Basavashavarana Vachanagalu*, See the Introduction.

(2) Narasinhacharya, *Karnataka Kavi Charite*, Vol. I, p. 177.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 180

(4) P. G. Halakatti.

Mahadēviyakka Vachanagalu, See the Introduction.

(5) Narasinhacharya, O. C. p. 183.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 187.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 182.

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 189.

(9) *Ibid.*, p. 192.

(10) *Ibid.*, p. 192.

(11) *Ibid.*, p. 191.

(12) *Ibid.*, p. 195.

(13) *Ibid.*, p. 301

under which Śiva is worshipped. In style, they are epigrammatical, parrallelistic and allusive. They dwell on the vanity of riches, the valuelessness of mere rites or book-learning, the uncertainty of life, and the spiritual privileges of the *Śivabhaktas*. They call men to give up the desire for worldly wealth and ease, to live lives of sobriety and detachment from the world, and to turn, to Śiva for refuge. They are seldom controversial, but almost entirely hortatory, devotional and expository."¹ The prose used in these *Vachanas* is invested with dignity and beauty. They are simple, direct, full of power, pleasant even where the expression is a little rough, and gracious with simile and metaphor taken from village life; and flavoured with a humour which, strangely enough, is not out of place in the midst of so much seriousness. The *vachana* literature has done much for the development of Kannada prose. Some of the *vachanas* are full of alliterations, and they sound like proverbs. Much of the highest type of lyrical poetry in Karnataka Literature can be read in these. More-over the *vachanas* are unique in the literature of India in the sense that no other vernacular can boast of them. Some of the sayings of Basavēśvara are so sublime in diction, language and the thought they contain, that they can be rightly compared to the gems of *Gītānjali* of poet Rabindranath Tagore. A few specimens of his previous *vachanas* will bring the truth of our statement nearer at home.

Specimens.

1. "Those who have means will not devote them to the building of a temple to God (Śiva.) Then I, though a poor man, will build Thee one, O Lord. My legs shall be the pillars, my body the shrine, my head the golden finial Hearken, O Kūḍala-Sangama-dēva: The fixed temple of

(1) E. P. Rice, *A History of Kanarese Literature*, p. 56.

stone will come to an end; but this movable temple of the spirit will never perish.¹

2. "Like the dog placed in the palanquin is the mind. If it sees its old desires it reverts; it must run; fie on this mind: It runs to the pleasures of the senses. My God, it will not permit me to remember you constantly. My Lord Kūḍala Sangam, grant that I may think of you, I pray you, O Good One :—"

3. "Make me lame so that I shall not waste time gadding about. Make me blind so that my eyes shall not wander looking on things. Make the ears deaf to aught but what concerns you. Let not my mind desire anything but the service of you saints."¹.

One unfortunate feature of this period is the religious bigotry of some of the non-vachana writers. Religious enthusiasm led to narrow jealousies. Some of the writings are "tainted by a spirit of unseemly brutal intolerance."², *Dharmamrita* by Nayasēna (A. D. 1112), *Samaya Parikshe* by Brahmasiva (A. D. 1125) and *Dharma Parikshe* by Vrittavilāsa (A. D. 1160) are good instances in point. Another sign of national decay due to the luxuriant and prosperous conditions of the time may be seen in [the partiality for erotic themes. The *vira-rasa* (heroic sentiment) of the heroic age now gives place to *Srangāra* (love sentiment). The heroes are not strong men of action and achievement, but psychopathic perverts grovelling in

(1) Translated by M. Venkatesha Iyyengar, *Sayings of Basavanna in the Q. I. M. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 41. The original runs :—

"ಅತ್ತಲಿತ್ತ ಹೋದಂತೆ ಹೇಳನ ಮಾಡಯ್ಯ ಶಂದೆ, ಸುತ್ತಿ ಸುಳಿದು ನೋಡದಂತೆ ಅಂಧಕನ ಮಾಡಯ್ಯ ಶಂದೆ! ಮತ್ತೊಂದೆ ಕೇಳದಂತೆ ಕಿವುಡನ ಮಾಡಯ್ಯ ಶಂದೆ! ಏನ್ನು ಶರಣೆ ಪಾದವಲ್ಲದೆ ಅನ್ಯವಿಷಯಕ್ಕೆಳಸದಂತೆ ಇರಿಸು ಕೂಡಲ ಸಂಗಮ ದೇವಾ!" (*Basaveshvarana Vachanagalu*, p. 10.

(*Basaveshvarana Vachanagalu*, p. 10.)

(2) *Karnataka Handbook*, pp. 175-176,

eroticism. *Lilāvati* by Nēmichandra (A. D. 1170), *Sthānaśataka* by Kavikāma (A. D. 1200) and *Madanavijaya* by Āṇḍayya (A. D. 1235), may be cited as good examples. There is not a single Kāvya in this period which can stand comparison with the great Epic *Sāhasabhima Vijaya*, the glory of the heroic age.

There were a great number of literary figures during this period which is a proud chapter in Karnataka history. The Cālukya Emperors, who were themselves Kannadigas, were great patrons of letters. The *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*s under them were imbued with a taste for literature, zealous of their mother-tongue and anxious to enrich Kannada culture which was their own. The court of every chief became a resort of the wandering minstrel and the ambitious poet. The poet, too, had inspiring themes to perpetuate in song and verse. The Cōla was ever ready at the Southern gate and the Cālukya with his *Maṇḍalēśvara* to strike him straight. Those were stirring times of great heroes and glorious battles, of love and valour and of splendid victories. Then commences the "Age of religious propaganda," aided by the poet. We find numerous writers and the output enormous. New literary forms arose to disseminate knowledge among the masses. On the whole, it was a period which provided a splendid opportunity for self-expression and for the display of individuality.

Ranna (A. D. 993).

We have already said something about this great poet, the third member of the trio, the other two being Pampa (A. D. 941), and Ponna (A. D. 950). Ranna is the author of *Ajita Purāṇa*, *Sāhasabhima Vijaya* (also called *Gadāyuddha*) and *Ranna Kanda*, which are all extant. From a verse given at the end of *Ajita Purāṇa*, he seems to have also written *Paruṣarāma Charita* and *Chakrēśvara Charita*, which are lost to us.

The poet narrates his early history in the *Purāṇa*. In the year A. D. 949 he was born of poor parents who belonged to the Vaiśya caste. His father, a native of Mudhōl, was a bangle-seller by profession and a Jaina by faith. Ranna married two wives Jakki and Sānti. He had a son called Rāya and a daughter by name Attimabbe. His Guru was Ajita-Sēnāchārya. Ranna wrote under the patronage of Taila (A. D. 973 to 997) who bestowed on him the great literary title "*Kavichakravarti*" or the "Emperor of Poets."¹ In his *Sāhasabheema Vijaya* he tells the story of how Bhīma fulfilled his vow to break the limbs of Duryōdhana with his "*Gadā*" and slay him. Throughout the poem the Royal patron Āhavamalla Chālukya is compared to Bhīma. It is one of the few greatest works ever produced in the literature of Karnāṭaka. It is strange enough that such a great poet devoted some of his precious time to write a lexicon, already mentioned, (*Ranna Kanda*). Ranna's learning in Sanskrit and Kannada is prodigious and his flow of inspiration sustained. In the weaving of words his skill is extraordinary. The descriptions are delightful, and conversations cunningly managed.²

Śrīdharāchārya (A. D. 1049).

The importance of Śrīdharāchārya lies in the fact that his *Jātakatilaka* is the earliest extant work on astrology. The author tells us that as there was not a single Kannada book on astrology, many Paṇḍits requested him to write one on the subject. From his title *Gadyapadya Vidyādhara*, he seems to have been a master of both prose and verse. *Jātakatilaka*, however is composed in "*Kanda*" and "*Vṛitta*" metres. He also wrote *Chandraprabhapurāṇa* which has not come down to us.³

(1) *Gadāyuddha*, I, 37.

(2) See his *Gadāyuddha*.

(3) Narasimhacharya, *Karnataka Kavi Charita*, Vol. I, P. 75.

Nāgachandra or Abhinavapampa (A. D. 1100).

The next prominent poet who draws our attention is Nāgachandra, a native of "Vijayapura" or modern Bijapur which was then included in the territory of the Sindas. He is the author of *Rāmachandracharita Purāṇa* (also called *Pampa Rāmāyana*), and *Mallinātha Purāṇa* the first of which is his master-piece. Devachandra (A. D. 1838) in his *Rājāvulī Katha* informs us that Nāgachandra also wrote *Jinākshara Māle*¹. A book called *Jinākshara Māle*, which is now published is attributed to Nāgachandra by some scholars. But Mr. Narasinhacharya who has studied the poets' style is of opinion that it cannot be the work of Nāgachandra.²

Rāmachandra Charita Purāṇa has unique value as it preserves for us a Jaina version of the *Rāmāyana* which differs in important respects from the Brahmanical version. In Nāgachandra's *Purāṇa* the whole atmosphere is Jaina. The *Rākshasas* are called *Vidyādharas*. In place of the supernatural marvels we have a comparatively natural narrative. Sugreeva and his followers are not monkeys; but human beings whose standard bears the figure of a monkey³. Rāvaṇa possesses only one head instead of ten. The real hero of the story is Lakshmaṇa, and not Rāma.³

Nāgachandra takes his place in the rank of great inspired poets who owe their achievements not to laborious training but to born talents. His *Rāmāyana* is full of sonorous and sweet words. It has the complicated sympathy of an orchestra.⁴

Nayasēna (A. D. 1112).

Nayasēna, the author of *Dharmāmṛita*, is the next important writer. He belongs to Mulagunda in the

(1) *Ibid.*, P. 99.

(3) See *Ramachandracharita Purana*.

(2) *Ibid.*, P. 99, 100

(4) *Ibid.*

Dharwar district which was then included in the territory of the Guttas. His style is easy and pleasant to the ear. The book is a discourse on morals including courage, truthfulness, justice, chastity etc. He was a staunch Jain, and also the leader of the school which was opposed to the use of needless sanskrit words into Kannada.¹

Rājāditya (A. D. 1120).

Rājāditya is the first Kannada writer who devoted his poetical talents to the elucidation of mathematical subjects. It may be interesting to note that a similar book was composed in Telugu by Mallana in the same century.² Rājāditya was the native of "Poovinabāge which shone like an incomparable gem in the Kūṇḍi Maṇḍala" (ಕುಂಡಿಮಂಡಲಕ್ಕೆ ಸುಸಮ ರತ್ನ ಮಂಡನಮೆನಿಸ್ತು) which was then under the rule of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti. As he describes himself as "One worthy to adorn the Royal court," he seems to have been a poet-laureate to some king. The poet mentions a certain Vishnunripāla in his *vyavahāraratna*. Mr. Narasinhacharya presumes that this Vishnunripāla was Vishnuvardhana of the Hoyasala dynasty who ruled from 1111 A. D. to 1141 A. D., and that Rājāditya was at his court.³ If this can be accepted as true, it is strange enough that the Raṭṭas known for their patronage of literature allowed Rājāditya to leave their kingdom and seek his fortune elsewhere. With regard to this poet's ability, Mr. Narasinhacharya speaks in high praise of his skill in composition and scholarship in mathematics.⁴

Nāgavarma II (A. D. 1145).

Nāgavarma is one of the great grammarians of the Kannada language. He is known as the author of *Kāvyā-*

(1) Narasinhacharya, *Karnataka Kavi Charita*, Vol. I., pp. 118, 119.

(2) Chenobiah and Bhujanga Rao, *A History of Telugu literature*, p. 50.

(3) Narasinhacharya, o. c. p. 123.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 125.

valōkana, *Karnatakabhāṣā-bhāṣaṇa* and *Vastukōsa*. Of these the first two are "two notable grammars of the language one in Kannada verse, the other in Sanskrit *sūtras*, which are the earliest known systematic treatises on the subject."¹ The last is a compilation of Sanskrit-Kannada glossary, the earliest work of the kind in Kannada.

Nāgavarma was a Jaina by faith. He seems to have also composed a Jaina Purāṇa, as poet Janna (A. D. 1209) includes him among the earlier Purāṇa-writers.² He possessed the titles "Abhinavaśarvavarma," "Kavi Karṇapūra," "Kavitāguṇōdaya" and "Kavi Kanthābharaṇa," and has been praised by Āchanna (A. D. 1195), Janna, (A. D. 1209), Sālva (A. D. 1550), Devadatta (A. D. 1600) and other poets.

Durgasinha (A. D. 1145).

Durgasinha is one of the few non-Jaina writers of this period. He has rendered into Kannada the stories of the *Panchatantra*. He tells us in his work that he was a Śaiva Brahmana of Sayyaḍi in the Kisukāḍa Nāḍu, the territory ruled by the Sindas of Yelburga. After completing his education in the Agrahāra of Sayyaḍi, he found favour with a Chālukya *danḍanāyaka* and was appointed as the minister of war and peace (*Sandhivigrahi*).³

Jagaddaḷa Sōmanātha (A. D. 1150).

The importance of Sōmanātha lies in the fact that his *Kalyāṇakāraka* is the earliest extant Kannada work on medicine. It is a translation of Pūjyapāda's Sanskrit treatise of the same name. The poet possessed the title "Vichitrakavi," or "Strange Poet." The book is divided into eight *adhyāyas*. The treatment it prescribes is entirely vegetarian and non-alcoholic.⁴

(1) Rice, *A History of Kanarese Literature*, p. III.

(2) *Narasinhacharya*, o. c. p. 144.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 149.

(4) *Narasinhacharya*, *Karnataka Kavi Charite*, Vol. I, p. 164.

Harihara (A. D. 1165).

Harihara, the author of *Girijākalyāṇa*, *Pampāśṭaka*, *Śivaganada Ragaḷe* and *Muḷigaya Aṣṭaka*, is the first prominent Vira-Śaiva poet. He was an accountant at the court of Narasimhaballāla (A. D. 1141 to 1173), and a devotee of god Virūpākṣa of Hampi.

The real greatness of Harihara is that he was far ahead of his times. It was his life ambition to compose poetry for the layman and to infuse culture in him. Though he was a great Sanskrit scholar, he hated to Sanskritize his style, unlike many a poet of his day. He first wrote the *Girijākalyāṇa* in the traditional "champu" form. But soon finding it inadequate to the unsanskritized Kannadiga in the street, took the hitherto neglected indigenous *Ragaḷe* metre and composed in it scores of books giving out the biographies of ancient *Shivabhaktās*. Hence he came to be called "Ragaḷe Kavi" ¹.

As for the literary qualifications of Harihara, very few poets can stand comparison with him. In *Girijākalyāṇa* he fully displays his individual ability. *Basavarāja-devara Ragaḷe* bears impressive testimony to his simple and lucid

(1) It is recorded in tradition that people began to make fun of Harihara calling him "Ragaḷe Kavi", and challenging him to write a "Champu" which was more difficult to compose owing to rhetoric restrictions. Harihara responding to this challenge, it is said, wrote *Girijākalyāṇa*. Mr. Rice seems to believe this traditional story, as he says that *Girijākalyāṇa* was written after the *Ragaḷes* (*A History of Kanarese Literature* p. 80). It is difficult for us to agree with Mr. Rice. If we turn to the internal evidences, the truth of our statement becomes clear. The whole atmosphere in *Girijākalyāṇa* is Brahmanical. For example the marriage between Śiva and Pārvatī is celebrated according to Brahmanical rites. It is thus evident that Harihara was a Brahmana when he wrote this work, and afterwards became a convert to Lingayatism. It cannot be other wise, as he died a Lingayat. Hence *Girijākalyāṇa* seems to be his early work. We therefore, place it before the *Ragaḷes*. Besides, Harihara was a man of remarkable independence, caring little for the public opinion. It seems incredible that he paid any attention to jokes poked at him.

style. It is a rare work full of honeyed words, apt comparisons and delicate and polished imagery. As a work of art it occupies a high place in Kannada literature. ¹

Rāghavāṅka (A. D. 1165).

Rāghavāṅka was the nephew and disciple of Harihara. He is the author of six books namely *Harischandrakāvya*, *Sōmanātha-Charite*, *Siddharāma Purāṇa*, *Vīraśvara-Charite*, *Śurabha Charitra* and *Harihara Mahatva*, of which only the first three are now extant. He is the first man who made an attempt to write in *Shajapadi* metre and curiously enough was crowned with success. In point of literary merit, *Harischandrakāvya* is the best of his compositions.

An interesting story is told in *Padmarājapurāṇa* of how Rāghavāṅka was compelled to compose five of his works. We are told that poet Harihara, the uncle of Rāghavāṅka, was displeased at his having written the praise of a Vaiṣṇava king Harischandra and broke of his nephew's teeth. And it is said that as soon as Rāghavāṅka wrote the five Śāiva " *Kritis* " he recovered his lost teeth. ²

Nēmichandra (A. D. 1170).

Nēmichandra is known for his *Lilāvati*, the earliest specimen of the Novel. Mr. Rice calls it " a genuine work of fiction ". ³ The plot is woven after a Kadamba prince Kandarpa who saw Lilāvati in a dream ; she likewise dreamt of him. Both the hero and the heroine, after a long search for each other, got married and lived happily at Banavāse. Mr. Narasinhacharya informs us that the whole story is composed in a fascinating style which reveals the poet's command of the language and his power of imagina-

(1) See *Basavarājadevara Ragale*.

(2) Narasinhacharya, *Karnataka Kavi Charite*, Vol. I, p. 235.

(3) Rice, E. P. *A History of Kanarese Literature*, p. 43.

tion.¹ It may however be noted that the work is marred by excessive erotic passages.

Nēmichandra possessed many titles among which *Kalākānta*, *Śrīṅgāraśatnākara*, *Kavirāja* *Kunjara* and *Chaturbhāshachakravarti*, may be mentioned. He² was prominent at the court of Viraballāḷa and at that of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Lakshmana Rāja of Kolhapur.

Rudrabhaṭṭa. (A. D. 1180)

Rudrabhaṭṭa is the first Brahmana writer to compose a Brahmanical Purāṇa in Kannada. He wrote *Jagannāthavijaya* which reproduces in *Champu* the narrative of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*. A doubt is often expressed as to when Rudrabhaṭṭa lived. But both Dr. Samasastri and Mr. Narasinhacharya agree that he was the contemporary of Viraballāḷa who ruled from 1172 to 1219 A. D.³

Rudrabhaṭṭa's style is very pleasing which can bring satisfaction both to the *Pandit* and the *Pāmara* (layman). As he calls himself " Kavi Śārādābhra Chandrātaparudra " ⁴ and " Kavirājarājam " ⁵ he seems to have possessed these titles. *Rasakārikā* which is attributed to him by Sāḷva (A. D. 1150) has not come down to us.

Janna (A. D. 1209).

" Janna was a man of varied gifts and considerable munificence, being both court poet and minister at the Ballāḷa court, and also the builder and beautifier of temples " ⁶. He is the author of *Yaśodhara Charite*, *Anantanātha Purāṇa* and *Smaratantra*, the last of which

(1) Narasinhacharya, *Karnataka Kavi Charite*, Vol. I, p. 260.

(2) *Ibid*, p. 256.

(3) *Jagannāthvijaya*, See the Introduction and Narasinhacharya O. C. p. 271.

(4) *Jagannāthvijaya*, *Asvasa* I, Verse 17.

(5) *Ibid* *Asvasa* I, verse 22.

(6) Rice, E. P. O. C. p. 43.

is lost. It is on account of his *Yashodharacharite* that Janna deserves a very high place in the republic of Kannada letters. It relates how a king Māridatta was about to sacrifice two boys of noble birth to Māri, but was so moved by their story that he released them, and abandoned the practice of animal sacrifice.¹ Janna's method of expression is really wonderful. His style is full of grace and dignity. Many of the later poets praise him highly. Janna in our opinion is the greatest literary figure in the thirteenth century.

Śiśumāyana. (A. D. 1232).

The last important poet of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvarian* days is the Jaina poet Śiśumāyana. He will be ever remembered as the first writer who tried the *Sāṅgatyā* metre and attained considerable success. *Sāṅgatyā* is a form of composition which is peculiarly suited to be intoned to the accompaniment of musical instrument. Like "shatpadi", "Ragaḷe" and "Tripadi," it is essentially Kannada in origin.

Besides these literary figures, who wrote big works on palm leaves, there are innumerable poets who have displayed their merit in the inscriptions. We shall enumerate here a few of them without whose compositions Kannada literature and epigraphy would have been undoubtedly poorer.

Kaṁālāditya (A. D. 980).

From an inscription found at Sōgaḷ in the Belgaum district we understand that he was the composer of that *Śāsana*.² Mr. Narsinhachar informs us that he was a Brahmana poet.³ The poet extols Taila II and Kaṭṭa, that is, the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kārtavīrya I of the Raṭṭa dynasty

(1) See *Yashodharacharite*.

(2) Barnett, *Sogal Inscription of the reign of Taila II*, Ep. Ind. XVI, p. 9.

(3) Narasinhacharya, *Karnataka Kavi Charite*, I, p. 51.

who was the lord of the Kāṇḍi district. This indicates that Kamalāditya was under the royal patronage of the Rattas. Mr. Edwards rightly remarks that he was perhaps the court-poet of Kārtavīrya I.¹ It is interesting to note that this Śaiva poet found favour in the court of a Jaina King.

Kappaṇṇa Bhaṭṭa (A. D. 1032).

An epigraph found at Sorab states that it was written by one Kappaṇṇa Bhaṭṭa. He had the title "Kavirāja-vallabha" which indicates that he was a poet of considerable merit. He was the contemporary of Jayasinha I the Chālukya Emperor.²

Nāgavarma (A. D. 1047)

A record found at the Śivaliṅgēśvara temple in the Mailār village, Haḍagali Tālukā, Bellary district, says that it was composed by the poet Nāgavarma.³ It registers certain religious donations made by the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kālima-Ayya to some gods through the disciple of Paṇḍita Maṇḍi-Maduva and Tējōrāsi. Mr. Edwards remarks, "The excellence of the composition proves that Nāgavarma must have been a pre-eminent master of poetry."⁴

Indrakīrti. (A. D. 1055).

There is an inscription near the Jain temple of Kōgaḷi in Bellary district. Indrakīrti is described in this record as possessing many titles such as "Kavi Chanchūchārya," "Sarvasāstrajāṇa," "Kavikundarāja." This indicates that he must have been an excellent poet of great eminence. We are also informed by Mr. Edwards that Indrakīrti was a poet of high literary attainments, a supposition corroborated by the fine diction of the inscription.⁵ Unfortunately we have not come across any of his works.

(1) Edwards, *Kannada Poets, Int. Ant.*, LV., p. 73.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, 86, 184.

(3) Edwards, *Kannada Poets, Int. Ant.*, LV, p. 74.

(4) *Ibid.* .

(5) *Ibid.*

Rāvappayya. (A. D. 1059).

Rāvappayya was the Kulakarni of Sundi in the Dharwar District, and the composer of an inscription of the time of Sōmēśvara I (Trailōkyamalla). It is to be remembered that Sundi was the capital of the Kisukād seventy, which was included in the hereditary territory of the Sindas of Yelburga. Rāvappayya was the contemporary of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Barmma of this Sinda family. "The poetry of the inscription is very fine, and the style of writing is admirable, the inscription in fact is a poem."

Mallinātha (A. D. 1062).

Poet Mallinātha was under the patronage of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Biraśāntara Dēva. He seems to have been the composer of two inscriptions found at Nagara². It is registered in the epigraphs that Pattapasvāmy Nokka, who held office under Bira Śāntara, made some gifts to temples. The diction of the records indicates that he was a poet of no mean order.

Rājavallabha. (A. D. 1067).

From an inscription at Hollūr in the Dharwar District we understand that Rājavallabha composed it. He is introduced to us as a "poet of clever speech brilliant with bright word, a treasure of discretion" (ಸ್ವರಚರಣೇ ವಿಫಲ ಜಯವಾಣಿಯ ಸತ್ಯವಿರಾಜಪಲ್ಲವಂ) This shows that he was a poet of some literary value. The description of Mārāgāvundā in the inscription bears impressive testimony to his flowing style. It may however be noted that this *Śāsana* was corrected and amplified by one Chandrabhaṭṭa³.

(1) Edwards, *Kannada Poet, Ind. Ant.*, LV, p. 74.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Nr. 57 and 58.

(3) Barnett, *Three Inscriptions from Hotturu, Ep. Ind.* XVI, p. 83.

Hariyaṇṇa. (A. D. 1075).

This Jaina poet is the composer of a *Śāsana* found in A. D. 1075, when *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kīrtidēva of the Kadamba dynasty was ruling the Banavāse-Nāḍu. It registers a grant to the temple of Brahmajina by Malaḷā Dēvi, the queen of Kīrtidēva. The best portion of the inscription, revealing the literary merit of the poet, comprises the natural description of the gardens of Kuppātūr¹.

Karparasa. (A. D. 1084).

Karparasa had composed an epigraph found at Naragunda in the Dharwar district. He was the son of the glorious *Mahā Sandhivigrahi Daṇḍanāyaka Kālidāsabhaṭṭa*.² The parents of the poet were "Chandra, a very sun in the Brahmana family" and Champāmbike, a virtuous lady. The record further informs us that he had the title "Kavitā-manōhara." Mr. Narasinhacharya doubts whether the poet was the son of Chandrarāja the author of *Madanatilaka*.³

Dāmarāja. (1085 A. D.)

Dāmarāja dictated a "*Śāsanagabba*" (poem-epigraph) which refers to a grant made by Ganga Permāḍi Dēva as a subordinate of Vikramāditya VI, to Jain *Basadis* constructed by Pugade Nokkayya. He was a Jaina poet. It is to be noted that Dāmarāja was a *Sandhivigrahi* as stated in the record.⁴ The language and the style of the inscription show that he was not a man of high poetic talents.

Śrīkanṭasūri. (A. D. 1099).

Śrīkanṭasūri is mentioned as a poet in an inscription belonging to the reign of Vikramāditya VI. It registers some gifts made to Abhinava Sōmēśvara by the Mahājanas

(1) *E. C.* VIII, 86, 263.

(2) Pathak, *An Old Kanarese Inscription at Hodali, Ind. Ant.* p. 94.

(3) Narasinhacharya *o. c.* p. 97.

(4) *E. C.* VII, Sh. 10.

(4) Edwards, *Kannada poets, Ind. Ant.* LV, p. 74.

of Kiruvatti. Kanṭhasūri's poetry as exemplified in the inscription is very sweet. (ವಾಕ್ಯಧ)¹

Mallikāṛjuna Bhaṭṭa. (A. D. 1102).

Mallikāṛjuna Bhaṭṭa, a Brahmana by faith, seems to be a poet far famed for his learning and literary attainments. Though no work of his has come down to us, he is known as a composer of two inscriptions at Sikārpur. "Aśukavi-niṭilāksha" was his title. Both the *śāsanas* register some grants to the famous temple of Kēdārēśvara. His literary greatness is thus described in the records, "With approved sweet expressions, in order that it might give dignity to his smaller utterances and become a *śāsana* of fame, did he write this *śāsana*—the Nitalāksha (Īśvara) among fast (or extempore) poets (*āśukavi*). On examination, who is equal to the lord Mallidēva? If two from two sides should together come writing it down from the end and reading it out, he would arrange the poem so read out, and whatever it might be, as a new poem; repeat four stories from hearing them related; and make calculations in any given figures; all this was to be able to do by mental effort, a full born Sārasvata, a Brahma of speakers, an emperor of many modes of ascertainment (*avadhāraṇa*), is Mallikāṛjuna Bhaṭṭa, the lotus born among poets."² He was the disciple of one Sōmēśvara Paṇḍita Dēva who bore the title "Sārasva-tamahōdaya." The poet seems to have held some high office as he is called "Lord" Mallinātha (Mallidēva Prabhu).

Ācharāja and Mallidēva. (A. D. 1104).

An inscription at Ablūr informs us that the record was composed by the facile poet Ācharāja and the born poet Mallidēvi (*Sukarakaviyappa Ācharājanum Sahajakavi Mallidēvanum*). It registers a grant to the temple of Brahmeśvara

(1) *Ibid.*

(2) *E. C.* VII, Sk. 98.

Dēva by *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Gōvindarasa at the request of one Ēchagāvundā.¹

Mādirāja. (A. D. 1124).

At the end of the *śāsana* found at Dāvaṇagere it is stated that the record was composed by poet Mādirāja.² We do not know anything about his literary talent from the inscription. He seems to have been under the patronage of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rāya Pāṇḍya of Uchchangi, who is praised in the inscription.

Mahādēva Bhaṭṭa and *Mallidēva* (A. D. 1144).

They were the composers of an inscription of 1144. The lines at the end of the *Śāsana* tell us that "the born poet the *Upādhyāya* Mahādēva Bhaṭṭa and Mallidēva the nephew of the *Sēnabhōva* Boppimayya," wrote it.³

Madhusūdanadēva. (A. D. 1147).

Madhusūdanadēva seems to be a poet of great fame. He had the privilege of being the teacher of Paṇḍita Pāṇḍya the brother of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Vīra Pāṇḍya. He wrote an inscription found at Dāvaṇagere which refers to a gift made by Vīra Pāṇḍya.⁴ The poetry of the inscription is of a high order. Mr. Narasinhachar remarks, that his style as revealed in the *Śāsana* is fascinating.⁵

Mukhya Paṇḍita (A. D. 1147).

At the end of an inscription found at Lakshmēśvara it is said that the *śāsana* was written by one Mukhya Paṇḍita, who bore the title "Karnataka Sukavi" (Eminent Kannada Poet).⁶

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions at Ablur*, Ep. Ind. V, p. 234.

(2) Ep. Car. XI, Dg. 2.

(3) Fleet, *Inscriptions at Ablur*, Ep. Ind., V, p. 234.

(4) Ep. Car. XI, Dg. 41.

(5) Narasinhachar, *Karnataka Kavi Charite*, Vol. I, p. 56.

(6) Barnett, *Three Inscriptions of Lakshmesvara*, Ep. Ind. XVI, p. 49.

Śaṅkara Vibudha. (A. D. 1150).

Śaṅkara Vibudha is the composer of a *Śāsana* found at Sorab, which describes him as a very wise and faultless poet (*Kaṇḍujāṇam Sat-Kavindra Śaṅkara Vibudham*)¹.

Hamsadēva. (A. D. 1161).

The Chikkanāyakanahalli Inscription No. 32 (*Ep. Car. XII*) was composed by a poet called Hamsadēva. He was the contemporary of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Hoysala Narasimha (1141 to 1173).

Rāmadēva. (A. D. 1180).

Rāmadēva is the composer of two inscriptions one dating A. D. 1180 and the other A. D. 1208.² He is the son of one Lakshmidhara as stated in the records. Both the epigraphs refer to the Sindas of Belagavarti. As the poet extols the sindavamsa, it may be presumed that he was under the fostering care of the dynasty. He is a Brahmana poet. With reference to his literary abilities, Mr. Narasimhaachar remarks that his style is lucid³. The verse describing the fame of Īśvara Sinda bears testimony to the poets' skill in using chaste Kannada with a sprinkling of sweet Sanskrit words.

Bālachandrakavikandarpa. (A. D. 1204).

Bālachandra seems to be one of those great poets who basked in the royal sunshine of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaraś*. He has composed two beautiful inscriptions both in the " *Champū* " style⁴ (mingled prose and verse). He was a poet, far famed for his scholarship and literary achievements. The great poet Janna (A. D. 1209) mentions Bālachandra in his *Anantanātha Purāṇa* as the teacher of his (Janna's) wife Lakumādēvi,⁵ and praises him as a

(1) *Ep. Car.* VIII, Sh, 19.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, VII, H, 25 and 50.

(3) Narasimhaachar, *Karnataka Kavi Charita*, vol. I, p. 216.

(4) Barnett, *Two Inscriptions from Belgaum*, *E. I.* XIII, p. 15.

(5) Narasimhaacharya o. c. p. 321.

literary savant known for his "Vakrōkti" (ವಕ್ರೋಕ್ತಿ). We are very unfortunate not to come across any of his works except the inscriptions, which belong to the prosperous reign of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kārtavīrya IV of the Raṭṭa dynasty, the patron of the poet. Bālachandra's abilities are thus described in the records "Free from faults, remarkable for significance is the decree which the Kavikandarpa, whose verses are equal to nectar, an emperor of the poets of the four tongues, has joyfully related. (This is) the decree related by Bālachandradēva, swan in the lotus-wood of everlasting literature that has risen from tasting the nectar of the utterances of the blessed Mādhavachandra emperor of masters of the triple lore" ¹.

Pārśva Paṇḍita. (A. D. 1205).

Pārśvapaṇḍita, the court-poet of the Raṭṭas, is known to posterity as the author of *Pārśvanātha Purāṇa*. There is a Raṭṭa inscription composed by a poet called Pārśva ². Mr. Narasinhachar rightly points out that this Pārśva was the same as the writer of the *Purāṇa*. ³ Both the *Purāṇa* and the *śāsana* extol Kārtavīrya IV, the royal patron of the poet. Pārśva Paṇḍita possessed the titles "*Sukavijanamano-harṣasyaprararsham*". "*Vibudhajanamanaha Padmineepadmamiṣṭam*" and "*Kavikulatilakam*" ⁴. In this *Purāṇa* he mentions a good number of earlier Kannada poets prominent among whom are Pampa, Ponna, Ranna, Guṇavarma, Nāgachandra and Nēmichandra.

Mādirāja. (A. D. 1229)

"Acquiring the benefits of good deeds performed in a former state of existence, Mādirāja, is termed the son of the Lord Kēśirāja, has in accordance with the wishes of that Lord composed and written this."

(1) Barnett, *Two Inscriptions from Belgaum*, Ep. Ind., XIII, p. 27.

(2) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains*, J. B. B. X, p. 220.

(3) Narasinhachar, *Karnataka Kavi Charite*, Vol. I, p. 323. (4) Ibid.



CHAPTER XIII

MUSIC

Music has received considerable patronage at the hands of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras. We are told that the court of king Kārtavīrya Raṭṭa was perfect in the possession of a *Saptāṅga* which included a songster among other requisites.¹ King Kaṇṇakaira was skilled in the art of music and dancing.² But the greatest lover of music among the Raṭṭa feudatories was King Eraga who "being acquainted with the Science of music," says the inscription, shone in the earth.³ Again the Saundatti inscription of Kārtavīrya II describes Eraga as one who "Was a very lotus-born in respect of his acquaintance with all incomparable accomplishments, charmingly acquainted with the art of music"⁴.

It is also said of king Permāḍidēva of the Sinda dynasty that he took great delight in enjoying the sentiments of poetry and singing.⁵

A record of 1095⁶ describes the Bēlūr Kadamba chief Dayasimba as a "critical examiner of poems and drama... ..a four-faced in proficiency in logic, grammar, painting, music and many of the sixty-four arts."

Similarly the Chālukya emperors were also great patrons of music.⁷ The kings' Court in ancient Karnataka must

(1) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Chieftains of Saundatti & Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, P. 252.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 201.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 201.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 218.

(5) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. R. A. S., XI, pp. 236 and 235.

(6) Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, p. 228.

(7) *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 166.

have been a favourite resort of eminent songsters who were always eager to display their talents before the monarchs.

The period of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras was an age when men and women greatly indulged in the beauties of music and of other allied arts. It is really interesting to note that some queens were good musicians of considerable merit. Thus the queen Lachchalādēvi, the wife of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Udayāditya, was skilled in all accomplishments, and was specially devoted to music.¹ Lōkamahādēvi, the queen-consort of Vikramāditya VI, was a lover of music.² She took great delight in bestowing land to eminent singers.³ We further learn from a lithic record of 1103 that the three daughters of a certain *daṇḍanāyaka* namely Boppalādēvi, Padmalādēvi and Chāvalādēvi grow up highly skilled in singing and dancing, and were therefore considered worthy to be queens of three separate royal capitals.⁴ It is thus apparent that the art of music was given an honourable place by the ruling families of ancient Karnataka.

From the available lithic sources it can be gathered that music was highly cultivated by our ancients. It was recognised as a subject for study in some of the famous agraharas and mathas of the period. A certain professor of the Belgāme University is described as a master of music. We are told that he could rejoice the hearts of the Chālukya kings "by the notes of wild-instruments sounding sa, dha, and ri; by the modulations of the seven notes⁵ combined in the enchanting songs of singing women; and by the sounds of the *mridaṅga* and other drums.⁶

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 109.

(2) *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 186.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ep. Car.*, VI, Om., 160.

(5) The seven notes are:—sa, śadja, ri, riṣabha; ga, gandhara; ma, madhyama; pa, panchama; dha, dhaivata; ni, nishadha.

(6) Rice, *Mysore inscriptions*, No. 46.

The Yēvūr inscription of Vikramāditya VI presents to us the high musical attainments of a Brahmana general called Raviga.¹ His music was so enchanting that he is addressed as a Vidyādhara.² That part of the record describing the beauties of his singing is worthy of quotation :

"It is no matter for mere conjecture, that when he plays music, those swelling quivering instants display the regular character of a painted wall-surface or display regularity of division, correct decorative lines or correct tones being fully separated and combined."

"The unique manner in which the General Ravi makes music, combining smoothness and sweetness in a singular manner, so that it is said: 'is not this a downpour of fresh honey, or a river of nectar, that is falling upon us?' Say: does it not cause delight to the ear of the whole world?" The Kannada genius for music is best illustrated by this description.

Every temple of any importance had some provision for the regular performance of music both vocal and instrumental. Singing-girls attached to temples are very frequently mentioned.³ Temple was not only a religious sanctuary but a popular social institution as well. Endowments were often made for the maintenance of singers. Thus the emperor Vikramāditya VI made a grant of land to the Nilgunda temple of Bhīmēśvara for the provision of dancing, singing and instrumental music.⁴ The Śiva temple of Śivanūr possessed on its staff four dancers, a drummer and a flute-player.⁵ Grants made to the flute-players and drummers of the Singanur temple are recorded.⁶ Similar instances can be multiplied.

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 287.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 146; p. 334; XIII, p. 33, *Ep. Car.* VII, Sk. 295; VII, H1, 14, etc.

(4) *Ep. Ind.* XII, p. 146.

(5) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 92.

(6) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 334.

It appears that there was a class of bards who were professional singers and musicians. They went from place to place displaying music and thus earning their livelihood. They were in many places given free board and lodging in the local mathas. Thus we are told that there was provision made in the Kēdārēśvara temple of Belgāme for the free distribution of food to singers, drummers, flute-players and dancers.¹

Special instruments were beaten and sounded as befitting the different occasions such as marriage, worship, procession, festival, war etc. Different Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras, entitled to the honour of Pañchamahāśabda, were heralded in the public by different instruments. For instance, the Sindas were entitled to the sounds of *Mallaḷi*² and the Kadambas of Goa to that of *Permaṭṭi*.³ It seems that these instruments such as *Mallaḷi*, *Permaṭṭi* and *Bhēri* were displayed at the time of war in order to infuse enthusiasm in the hearts of the warriors.⁴

Among other musical instruments that were in use many are mentioned in inscriptions. They are the *Muddale*⁵, the *ḍamaruga*, the *tūrya*, the *nirghōṣhaṇa*,⁶ the flute,⁷ the guitar,⁸ the *trivaḷi*,⁹ the *Samudra-ghōṣha*, the *Kaṭuma-khavāditra*¹⁰ and the drum.¹¹

A number of them are also referred to in the Kannada literature of the period. *The Basava Rāja Dēva Ragale* written by Harihara speaks of the instruments that were most common. Among them the *Mridaṅga*, the *Kaḷālā*, the *Śaṅkha*, the *bhēri*,¹² the *paṭaha*,¹³ the

(1) *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk., 102. (2) Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 60. (3) Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 566. (4) Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 124. and 338. (5) *Ibid.*, p. 124. (6) *Ibid.*, p. 189. (7) *Ep. Car.*, IV, Mj. 18. (8), *Ibid.* (9) *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 106. (10) *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 206. (11) *Ep. Car.*, IV, mj., 13.

(12) *Basava Rāja Deva Ragale*, Sthala II, Lines 77-78.

(13) *Ibid.*, IV, 98-99.

ghante, the *Kausāḷa*¹, the *Maddaḷe*², the *Avuḷe*, the *Karaḷe*³, the *nissāḷa*⁴, and the *dundhubhi*⁵, were distinguished. It is important to remember that Harihara mentions only such of the instruments that were sounded on the occasion of temple-rituals and processions. He further tells us that the *Kahaḷe* was sounded in the front while the *bhāri* and *nissāḷa* in the rear during processions. Different kinds of sounds created by these various instruments are also described⁶.

Representations of some musical instruments are to be seen sculptured in the temple walls in many parts of the province. The flute is frequently to be seen in the representation of Vēṇugōpāla in the Hoysāḷa art of the twelfth century⁷. The *Vinā* has been from very early times been popular as the chief musical instrument of the Kannaḍigas. It has also been depicted in the Hoysāḷa art, especially in the representation of Sarasvati at Halebid.⁸

As music was liberally patronised by many kings, there was ample scope for the musical theory to be worked out in a systematic way in this period. Only a few years after the fall of the Chālukyan Empire, there appeared in the Deccan the renowned musician Śārṅgadēva⁹ who wrote *Saṅgeeta*

(1) *Ibid.*, VII, 103-104. (2) *Ibid.*, XI, 101.

(3) *Ibid.*, XI, 27-30. (4) *Ibid.*, XI, 142. (5) *Ibid.*, XI, 171.

(6) “ಧಿವಿಧಿವುಕು ದುಮುಕುತತ್ತೊಂಗಿಂಬ ಮದ್ದಳೆಯು |

“ಜನುಕ ತನಕ ತನಕನೆಂಬ ಕದಳೆಯು ದನಿಯು ||

“ನಟಿತದಕು ಫಣಫಣ ಬಿಲ್ಲಲೆಂಬ ಅವುಜೆಯು |

“ನಟವಿಕಟ ಕಟಕ ಬಿಲ್ಲಂಬ ಕರಡೆಯು ದನಿಯು ||” ಸ್ಥಳ ೧೧, ಪಂಕ್ತಿ ೨೭-೩೦

“ಅಗಲೊಗೆದವು ಘಂಟೆಗಳ ಧಣಧಣತ್ಕಾರ |

“ಅಗಲುಣ್ಣು ದುವು ಕಾಸಾಳಾದ ಘಳತ್ಕಾರ ||” ಸ್ಥಳ ೭, ಪಂಕ್ತಿ ೧೦೩-೧೦೪.

(7) See Plate XXXII, The Kēśava Temple at Belur, Mys. Arch. Dept.

(8) Hayavadana Rao, *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 398-94.

(9) Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 111.

Ratnākara, "the greatest and the most important work" on music¹.

From the above facts, it is evident that the art of music was assiduously cultivated by the ancient Kannadigas. The worthy tradition has been constantly kept up even to this day. The present Mahārāja of Mysore is a great lover of music. In this court flourish some of the best musicians of Modern India. Mysore is famous to-day for its excellence in vīna-playing. "The gracefulness of style, clearness of intonation, and softness of execution, perfected by Śeṣhaṇṇa have won for Mysore the premier position in the art of Vīna-playing in the whole of India"².

(1) *United Karnataka*, p. 73.

(2) Hayavadana Rao, *Mysore Gazetteer*, II, part I, p. 397.

CHAPTER XIV

DANCING

Dancing is closely related to music. It has been well said that 'music is the dance of words and dance is the music of human limbs'.¹ Both are the artistic expressions of one's emotions.

Unfortunately for the history of dancing during the period of our study, not much information can be culled out of inscriptions. However, there are a few references to show that the art was to a certain extent practised by the ancient Kannaḍiga. Thus we are told that the King Kanna-kaira of the Ratta dynasty was skilled in dancing.² A Sorab inscription dated 1208 A.D. describes the King Vira-Ballāla as an actor performing the *tāṇḍava* dance like Śiva; "his stage is the battle-field; the heads of his enemies cut off are the cymbals; the music on the stage is that of the hobgoblins; the sound of the beating drums at his victory is the sound of the musical instruments playing; and the skulls of his enemy kings form the garland of his neck."³ It is evident from this description that the author of those verses had a clear idea of the well known dance of Śiva. We may therefore safely presume that in those days the art of dancing was studied even in its technical aspect.

Dancing was recognised as a mode of amusement among the royal families of the day. We are informed in one place that kings preferred to marry those girls who grew

(1) Quoted by Dikshitar, *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, p. 288.

(2) Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum*, J. B. B. R. A. S. X, p. 201.

(3) As translated by Prof. Kundanagar, *Development of Kannada Drama*, J. B. B. R. A. S., VI, (New Series), p. 313.

skilled in the art of dancing.¹ A Hoysaḷa King is said to have "Joyfully inclined to the cultivation of dancing",² while another of the same dynasty is described as highly skilled in it.³ Dancing appears to have been so common that it is sometimes used as a simile in inscriptions.⁴

Dance was a popular institution indulged in by all classes of people. Even the poor could enjoy the high class dance performed by the professional dancers of the village temples. For we definitely know that girls were engaged to dance in temples and in return they enjoyed the produce of certain temple lands.⁵ Rich people seemed to have employed them to sing and dance on important ceremonies and grand occasions.⁶ Thus there arose a dancing community as such. The practice was to train the girls of that community while they were still young and thus to prepare them for their hereditary calling.

There is reason to believe that the ancient form of Kannada drama called *Bailāṭa* existed in this period.⁷ This indigenous institution must have contributed much more than any thing else did for the spread of dance among the common folk. Traces of *bailāṭa* are still lingering under the name of *Yakshagāna*. The *Yakshagāna* which compares favourably well with the *Kathakali* of Malabar is a "compound art, and its predominant dramatic character is vividly reinforced with dance, music, poetry and painting."⁸

(1) *Ep. Car.* VI, Cm., 160.

(2) *Rice, Mysore Inscriptions*, No. 146.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Fleet, Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 268.

(5) *Ep. Ind.* XIII, p. 57.

(6) *Ramchandra Charita Purana*, IV, verses 28 and 29.

(7) *Souh Ind. Ep.*, 1925-26, No., C. 459.

(8) N. K. Venkatesvaran, *The Kathakali of Malabar*, Triveni, Vol. IV, p. 653.

Representation of various dancers are common among the sculptures of the twelfth-century Karnataka. Many dancing figures are depicted in the Channakēśava temple at Belur. The god Śiva dancing under the name Tāṇḍavēśvara is to be seen in the Lakshmi temple at Doddagaddavalli, in the Panchalinga temple at Gōvindahalli, in the Avali temple at Mosale and in the Jagatēśvara temple at Anekonda, to mention only a few instances. Figures of Sarasvati in dancing posture are sculptured in the Panchalinga temple mentioned above. Vishnu is made to dance in the Avali temple. Besides these deities, a large number of human dancers are beautifully depicted in the architecture of the period. It is really interesting to see the god Gaṇapati with his big belly dancing on the walls of Panchalinga temple. Animals and birds of various kinds in dancing posture are carved in outline in many places, notably in the temple of Nāḍakalashi.

Some of these images are fully expressive. They exhibit not only the high artistic degree then attained by the art of dancing, but also the skill on the part of sculptors in representing it in stone.

CHAPTER XV

ENGRAVING

Engraving is an art closely connected with inscriptions. The very existence of a large number of Chālukya inscriptions, beautifully engraved, is a clear indication that the art was highly cultivated. The Abbalūr stone inscription disclosing the story of Rāmayya may be taken as a fine specimen of the period.

Many of these inscriptions mention the name of the engraver. We are told that some of these cutters were famous throughout the Chālukya Kingdom. The Chitaldroog inscription dated 1067 A. D. was engraved by the Rūdra Sculptor Mahākāla Brahmā, of whose ornamental lettering, it is said : "When he can entwine the forms of elephant, lion, parrots and many other forms so as to shine among the letters, will you madly compete with such a sculptor ?" ¹ Again, Ikkudōja, who engraved a grant made at the Koḍangūr agrahāra in 1113 A. D., was also known for his skill. He "so well understood how to engrave the different parts of the letters with their head strokes." ²

(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Od., 47.

(2) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 149.

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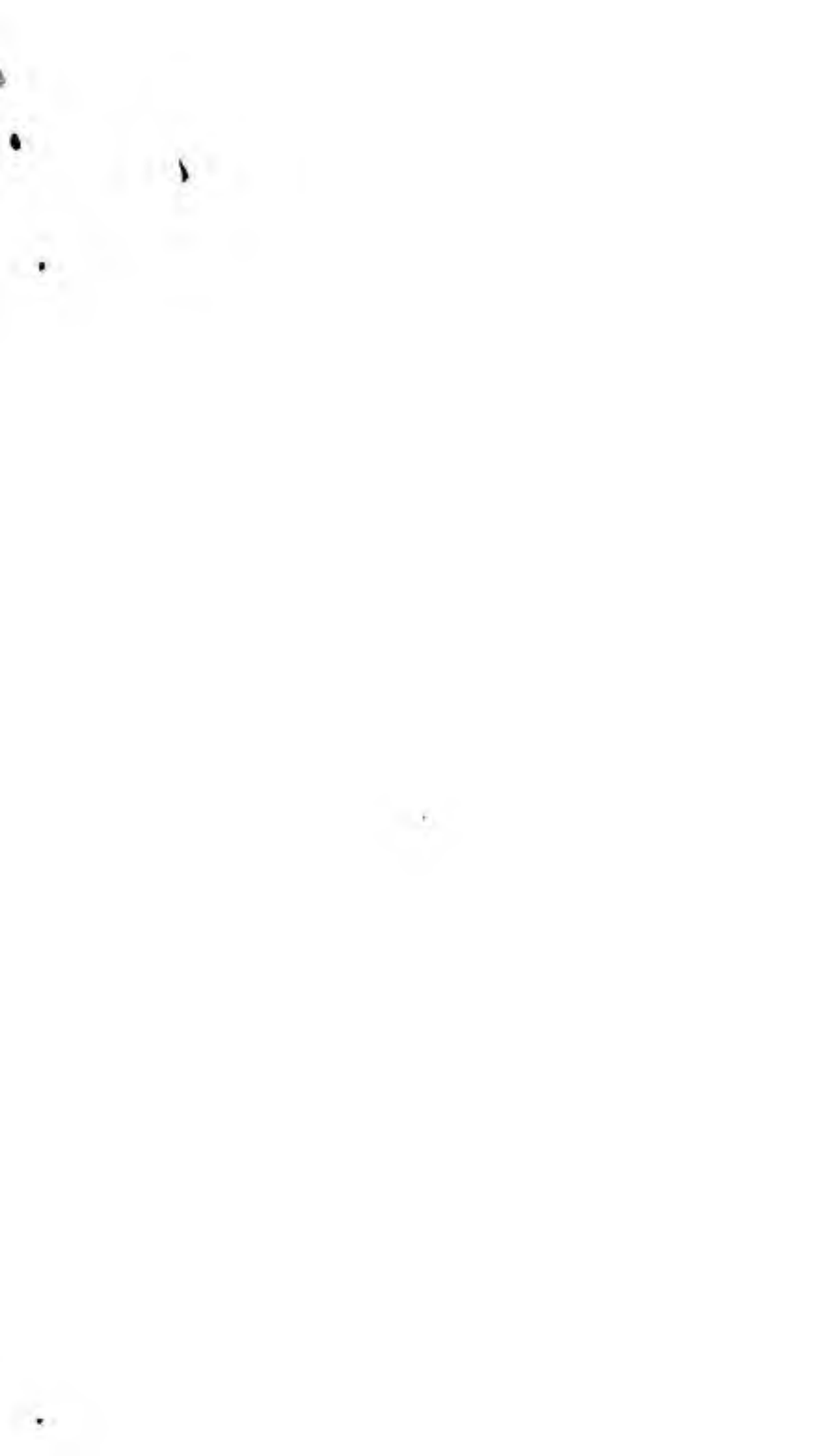
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